

REFERENCE ONLY









Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2021 with funding from Thoresby Society

THE

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

THORESBY SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED IN THE YEAR MDCCCLXXXIX

VOLUME LXIII



THE THORESBY MISCELLANY

Volume 19 (in one Part)

THE THORESBY SOCIETY

23 CLARENDON ROAD

LEEDS

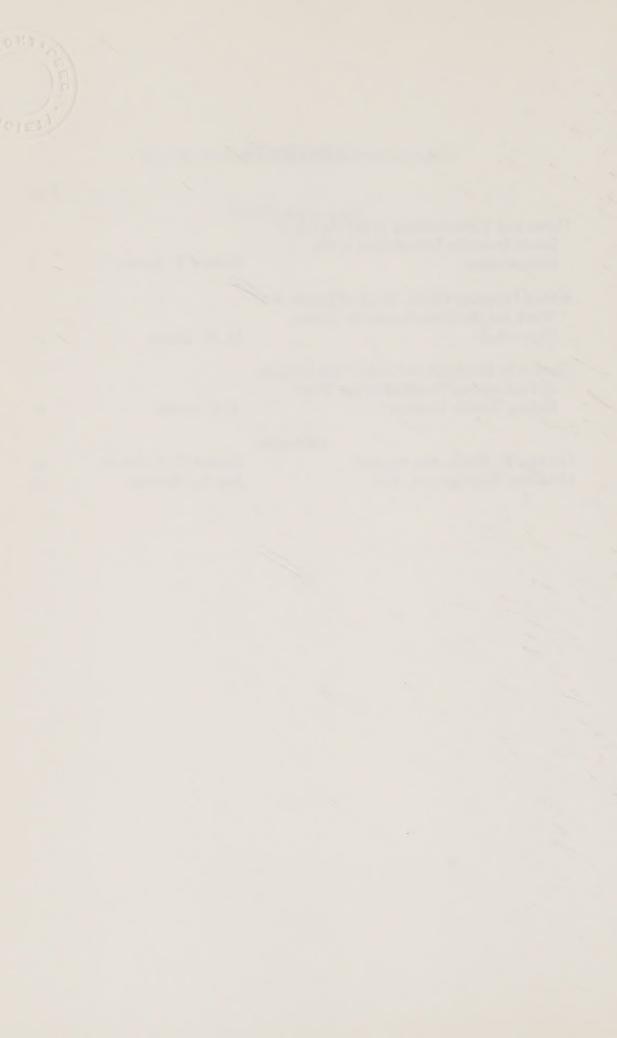
1990

© Thoresby Society and contributors

ISSN 0082-4232

CONTENTS

		Page
Tithes and Tithe-holders in the Parish of Leeds from the Dissolution to the Reformation	Richard T. Spence	I
Walter Farquhar Hook, Vicar of Leeds: his Work for the Church and the Town, 1837–1848	H. W. Dalton	27
'Shall it be Bradford or Leeds?': the Origins of Professional Football in the West Riding Textile District	A. J. Arnold	81
Obituaries		
George W. Black, MB, BS, FRCS	Gordon C. F. Forster	91
Geoffrey Woledge, BA, ALA	Jean E. Mortimer	93



	List of Plates	Page
I 2	Walter Farquhar Hook, DD (1798–1875), vicar of Leeds, 1837–59. Engraving by F. Holl from a drawing by George Richmond (n.d.). (Thoresby Society) Charles Thomas Longley (1794–1868), first bishop of Ripon,	34
	1836–56. Engraving by James Faed from a portrait by Francis Grant. (Engraving kindly made available by the Revd A. M.	
	Shepherd, Harrogate.)	35
3 (a)	Old Parish Church, Leeds, from the north-west, before the	
	demolition, March 1838. (Thoresby Society)	36
3 (b)	Parish Church, Leeds, from the north-east (R. D. Chantrell,	
	Architect). Drawing by W. Richardson; lithograph by G. Hawkins, 1841. (Thoresby Society)	36
4	Old Parish Church, Leeds: interior before the alterations,	30
7	March 1838. (Thoresby Society)	37
5	Parish Church, Leeds: interior looking east (R. D. Chantrell, Architect). Drawing by W. Richardson; lithograph by G. Hawkins, 1841. Dedicated by the publisher to the Revd	
	Walter Farquhar Hook. (Thoresby Society)	38
	Map	
Leeds F	Parish Tithes	3
	Table	
Leeds F	Parish Tithes and Tenants, 1579–1675 between pp. 24 a	nd 25

Tithes and Tithe-holders in the Parish of Leeds from the Dissolution to the Restoration*

by RICHARD T. SPENCE, BA, PhD

I

One aspect of the history of Leeds almost entirely neglected by the Thoresby Society in the hundred years since its foundation is that of the tithes of the parish of Leeds. Yet tithes were an integral and ever-present feature of the life of every community, touching within Leeds parish not just the bulk of the population whose prime occupation before industrialisation was tillage and pasturage but the growing proportion from the sixteenth century who combined clothmaking, trades and commerce with farming or smallholding. The purpose here is to consider the Leeds tithes and the relations between the proprietors, Christ Church, Oxford, their lessees or farmers – first the Cliffords, earls of Cumberland and then the Boyles, earls of Cork and Burlington – and the tenants within the parish in the century and a half following the Dissolution which abruptly ended the long era of monastic ownership. To avoid confusion, those terms will be used throughout this discussion.

By tithes here is meant the tithes of the parish or rectory of Leeds, that is the great tithe of sheaves, corn, grain and hay; not the small or vicarial tithe of wool, lamb, eggs and hens. In essence, great tithes were crops, agricultural produce; the tenth sheave or stook of corn and the tenth hay-cock, vetted in the fields by the tithe-holder and carted to his barns. When ground, milled or malted they provided food and drink for people, fodder for horses, cattle, pigs, poultry and hounds, and straw for bedding. The arable crops in the Leeds district were barley, oats, wheat and rye. In the legal or proprietorial sense, the term 'tithes' was commonly used to denote

^{*} This is a revised and expanded version of a lecture given to the Thoresby Society on 12 October 1989. I wish to thank the Hon. Editors for their comments. I am grateful to the Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement and the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford for allowing me to examine and use manuscripts in their archives.

the right to collect those crops. Both meanings will be employed

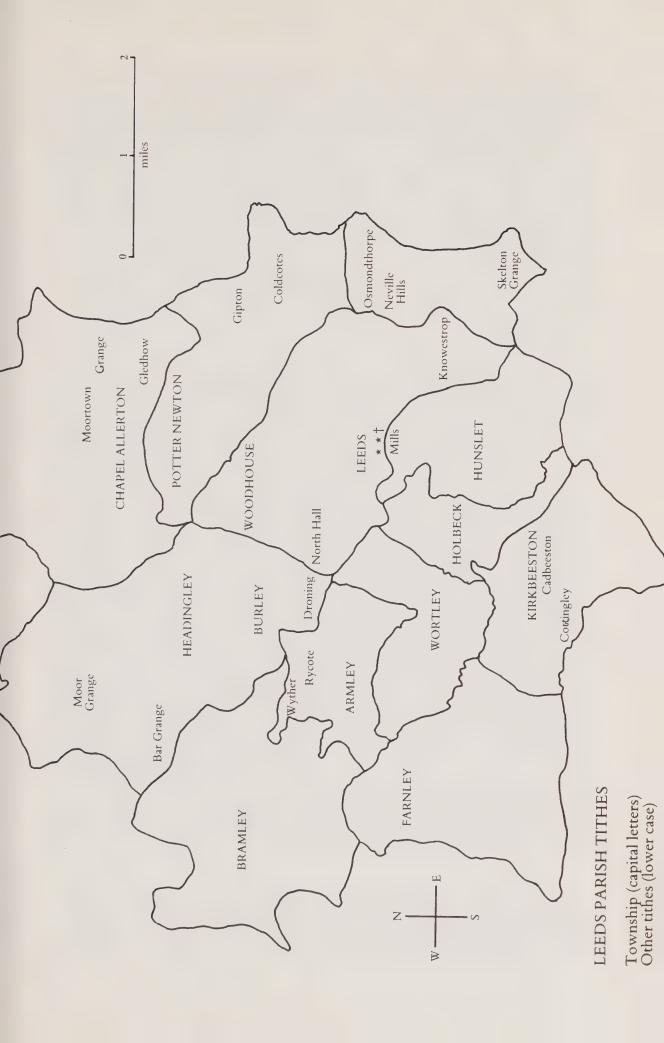
here as appropriate.

There were distinct attractions to holding tithes. For a landowner, it was convenient to possess all the crops on his lands, and incidentally to exclude intrusive and unwelcome outsiders. In times of dearth, a tithe-holder commanded his own sources of food, which was comforting especially if, as a tradesman or merchant, he owned little land. For the latter, too, grain and hay were always marketable commodities which could fetch a premium at certain times in the year. For proprietors, tithes were highly profitable sources of revenue outside manorial restrictions, which enabled them to be absentee landlords and rentiers, as indeed was true of both Christ Church and the farmers. Where, as in Leeds, manufacturing developed rapidly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the value of land and produce correspondingly rose, so that titheowners and farmers shared through rising rents in the growing prosperity of the region.

H

Leeds was a large parish, encompassing besides the borough and manor eleven outlying townships in an area of 21,000 acres or thirtyfour square miles. Only about twenty-five out of a population exceeding 3,000 held tithes under the Cliffords at any one time fewer under the Burlingtons - and it is this handful of substantial men and women who will be considered here. Leeds experienced big institutional developments during the 1620s - in 1626 the incorporation of the borough and the expansion of its boundaries to be coterminous with the parish; and the purchase of the manor of Leeds in 1629. These developments to begin with had only a tangential influence on the relations between the Cliffords and the corporation and inhabitants of the borough. However, after the Restoration some changes may be discerned, and these will be described. The growth in population, industry, trade and wealth in the seventeenth century should perhaps have been viewed by the farmers as an opportunity to tap the expanding resources. The terms of their leases and the policies of Christ Church limited what they

^{&#}x27;M. W. Beresford, East End, West End: the Face of Leeds during Urbanisation, 1684–1842 (P[ublications of the] Th[oresby] S[ociety, LX and LXI, 1988), 5–34; G. C. F. Forster, 'The Early Years of Leeds Corporation, P. Th. S, LIV(1979), 251–61; The Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1425–1662: an Edition of Documents, ed. Joan W. Kirby (PTh. S, LVII, 1983), xxiii.



could do. Yet they were able to profit from the growing wealth in the parish by raising their income initially by entry fines for leases and then from the 1630s, like so many landowners, by annual rackrenting. Since there was competition for tithe leases and Leeds men could well afford to pay, the prosperity of Leeds was reflected in the rising revenues from the parish. But much of the pressure, as will be seen, came from the proprietors in Oxford, not just from the Cliffords and Burlingtons. Leeds, unlike many boroughs, was not controlled by a great landowner, whether predatory or munificent. But Christ Church, the Cliffords and Burlingtons came close to that in terms of tithes, as will be shown.

Ш

The tithes of Leeds parish had been appropriated to the Priory of the Holy Trinity in York, which was dissolved near the end of 1538. The rents of the tithes were then £48 2s. od.2 Eight years later, on 11 December 1546, the tithes were included in Henry VIII's Donation to Christ Church Cathedral and College, Oxford of £2,000 in rents. Included in the Donation also were the former tithes of Bolton Priory which comprised the rectories of Preston-in-Craven (that is Long Preston), Broughton, Carleton, Skipton, Kildwick, and Bolton itself, rented at £99 3s. 4d.3 These Bolton Priory tithes had been leased by the King about 1540 to Henry Clifford, 1st earl of Cumberland, for a term of years. 4 Cumberland's lease was still in being when, on 10 October 1551, the College granted to Sir Thomas Chaloner of Hogden, Middlesex, who had recently purchased Guisborough Priory in Yorkshire, a lease of the tithes of Leeds parish and of the former Bolton Priory tithes except for Kildwick. The term was a long one - eighty years. The rent charge of £138 12s. od. was the same as at the Dissolution and in the Donation.5 It remained that in theory throughout the period. Chaloner's was potentially a much more valuable lease than Cumberland's, because Leeds was a larger parish than Kildwick and the tithe rents £40 a year more.

What profit Chaloner was able to make from his lease is hard even to guess. All he might have done was to collect fines for new

² Ralph Thoresby, Vicaria Leodiensis (1724), pp. 36-39.

³ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, xxi (2), no. 648/25.

⁴ C[hrist] C[hurch] O[xford], MS Estates, 114/12.

⁵ CCO, MS Estates, Yorkshire, Long Preston, A/1. For Chaloner, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 1366–67.

leases in Leeds parish, yet that would have been limited because of the long leases Holy Trinity Priory, like so many monasteries, made just before the Dissolution. For whatever reason, Chaloner decided to sell his lease on 1 October 1554 to Henry, 2nd earl of Cumberland for £400.6 For the next five years or so, Cumberland had the benefit of his original lease and the Christ Church lease, which gave him the profits of Kildwick as well as Leeds and his other Craven rectories. By 1569, Cumberland's original lease had ended and the College was free to grant Kildwick rectory to another tenant, in fact to a schoolmaster of Clitheroe.⁷

In all the rentals from the Dissolution onwards the townships were listed in roughly clockwise order starting with Armley, and that has been followed in the Table of tithe-holdings (between pp. 24 and 25). The one tithe which was mainly collected over the whole parish by one tenant was that of hay, except in Potter Newton, Farnley and Knowestrop where the hay was let with the corn. Kirkstall Priory demesnes and New Grange in Headingley, although included in the Donation, were subject only to a rent charge, which seems to have been kept distinct from the parish tithes and is not mentioned in the Cliffords' rentals.

Certain rights and responsibilities laid out in the College lease require comment. First, the vicar of Leeds had to pay the College, as before to the Priory, a £10 pension from the lesser tithes he collected, and the vicar of Adel £6 13s. 8d. The vicar of Leeds had a dispute over his payment with the College and it was confirmed in an award in 1558, and again in 1596 after a further controversy. Second, the right of advowson to Leeds parish church was included in the Donation to the College and in the lease to the farmer. It had already been granted out once if not twice, and again was the subject of a dispute, so neither the College nor the Cliffords made claim to it. They did not become involved in the ecclesiastical squabbles of the early seventeenth century, nor in the disputes over Leeds mills, though their sympathies probably lay with the Crown lessee, John Lindley Esq. of Leathley. 8

It was a condition of the lease that the farmer should repair and uphold at his own charge all chancels, tithe barns and other edifices which had become the College's responsibility through the

⁶ Chatsworth, Curry Papers [hereafter Curry], L/46/8.

⁷ CCO, Book of Evidences, Index, II, 756.

⁸ CCO, Book of Evidences, Index, II, 752; Thoresby, *Vicaria*, pp.60–64; J. Sprittles, 'New Grange, Kirkstall', *PTh.S*, XLVI (1963), 22; Kirby, *Manor and Borough*, pp. lxii–lxiii, and Appendix I.

Donation. The upkeep of the barns was passed on to the tithe tenants, and there is no mention in the Cliffords' accounts of the various chapels of ease in the parish. But the earls regularly paid out moneys to maintain St Peter's. For instance, in 1608 Earl Francis's officer Thomas Barrows, who collected the Leeds rents, met the bill of the glazier Henry Brown for mending the chancel windows, a cost of fourteen shillings.9 In December 1609, he paid the churchmasters of Leeds £1 1s. 8d. for repairing the chancel and the windows. This would be a month's work for a craftsman and his boy. In 1638 Robert Robotham, the earl's secretary, sent £1 11s. 4d. by the hands of the Leeds merchant William Lodge to cover the cost of 'thacking and glasing the Channcell of Leeds church'. 10 These are instances when the sums are noted instead of just a blanket comment on repairs to the churches in all the Christ Church rectories. Too few of the Cliffords' accounts have survived to get any continuous picture of their upkeep of St Peter's. However, the parishioners crowding in for services and celebrations would be kept in mind of who their tithe-farmers were. The arms of the earls of Cumberland were displayed in the High Choir until the renovation in the early eighteenth century paid for by Juliana, Dowager Countess of Burlington. 11

The College rents were due twice a year, at Michaelmas (29 September) and Lady Day (25 March), with ten weeks allowed to get them down to Oxford before the penalty of forfeiture of the lease. In fact the Cliffords' receiver collected the tenants' rents on those days in the south porch of the parish church. It must have been a busy place on these occasions, especially as it was the custom to transact other business at the same time. The earl's officers would carry the moneys up to Oxford and be present at the College audit. From 1626 there were complications over this procedure, which will be described later.

Granting new leases was a lengthier matter. In 1612, for example, Earl Francis's commissioners twice called at Leeds on their way to Skipton from his mansion at Londesborough in the East Riding to negotiate new contracts and collect in the expiring leases. The tenants in turn had to journey twice to York, on 11 June and 3 November, to pay over their entry fines which altogether totalled almost £750. This was done, like so many financial and legal transactions, at Haxey's tomb in the north transept of the Minster.

^{9.} Y[orkshire] A[rchaeological] S[ociety], DD 121/36A/2, f. 159.

^{10.} Chatsworth, Bolton MSS [hereafter Bolton MSS], B[00]ks 228, f. 121; 176, f. 88v.

^{11.} Ralph Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leeds 1816), I, 247.

At the second meeting, when the new leases were handed over, the earl's officers with notable generosity bought the tenants a pottle of wine, that is half a gallon. ¹² In the 1630s, with rackrenting, re-leasing became an annual process, not every two decades or so as in the past. Of all the many leases made in the period under discussion, surprisingly few have as yet come to light.

One advantage for rentiers in tithes, both the College and the Cliffords, was that they avoided the petty disputes over boundaries and possession which cluttered up the courts in the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. One of these concerning Leeds which led to litigation will be described later. Evasion of payment of tithes was a quite different matter, even if the origin was almost lost in the mists of time. There was an obligation on the tithe-farmer, and it was in his own interests, to recover what was due. But how was he to know? It had to be usually on 'information received'. In 1630 Mr Sandwich, the keeper of the records in St Mary's Tower, York, which were largely destroyed in 1644 when the tower was blown up by the Parliamentary troops, discovered old records which showed that some of the tithes in Leeds 'pretended to be freed by the Cistercian order' appeared not to have been. He passed the notes he made on these documents to Earl Francis's attorney and received 5s. in reward, a nice sum equal to a craftsman's weekly wage. For the keeper, this activity might well have been a legitimate source of income, informing on concealments and transgressions being widely practised and acceptable, for which the Cliffords' officers readily laid out appropriate sums.

The earl's attorney had the records copied, and investigated further. The outcome was a suit against 'Bramley men of Leeds'. The case was eventually settled at York assizes in 1639, the earl retaining six lawyers and paying out nearly £17 in costs, in addition to expenses in the intervening years. But he won the judgement. The Bramley men agreed a composition of at least £30 for their past concealments – a hundred years? – and would in the normal course pay rents for all their tithable lands in future. The Burlingtons were to gain more from this success than the Cliffords, but safeguarding an inheritance was a concept of the future close to the heart of Jacobean landowners. However, the 1639 judgement did not end the Bramley dispute. As will be seen later, the earl of Cork had similar opposition to contend with during the 1650s.

^{12.} Bolton MSS, Bk 94, ff. 158-60.

¹³ Bolton MSS, Bks 124, 125, title 'Lawcharges'; 191, f.25r. The composition may have been larger than the receipts recorded in Bks 177, f.208; 191. f.1r.

IV

The eighty-year lease Christ Church had granted Chaloner, technically a beneficial lease, was of far more benefit financially to the Cliffords than the College. But the Dean and Chapter were not to know in 1551 of the tremendous inflation to come in the second half of the sixteenth century, which eroded their income from the Leeds and Craven tithes by about four-fifths. They complained in 1550 when the 2nd earl of Cumberland had failed to pay his rents for two years that it was a great loss to the scholars. Yet that was infinitessimal compared with the collapse in the College's income by the end of Elizabeth I's reign if long leasing was its general policy in 1551. Since the history of the College's finances has yet to be written, that assertion must remain speculation. As it is, the Leeds and Craven tithes lease is a pointer to the financial disaster the College most likely experienced during the inflationary decades of the Tudor era.

The Leeds tithe-holders in turn got far more advantage from their twenty-one-years' leases than did the Cliffords, just as the customary tenants in Leeds Mainriding and neighbouring manors in the parish benefited at the expense of the Crown and their other manorial lords. The leases made by either Chaloner or Cumberland in the 1550s fell in during the minority of George, 3rd earl of Cumberland. When, in 1578, he was nearing his majority, newly married and strapped for cash - as he was throughout his career - he authorised his officers to borrow money from various groups of tenants including the lessees of the Leeds tithes. He promised to repay these loans when he came of age, and those who lent were guaranteed that they would be given preferment for new leases. In effect, Earl George was anticipating the entry fines he would have received eighteen months later. He probably raised several hundred pounds from Leeds in this way. The new twenty-one-years' leases Earl George then granted lasted throughout the two worst decades of inflation in the century, with the Leeds tithe rents frozen at about £72, little above the Dissolution level, and no more fines possible until almost the end of the century. These were hard years also for the spendthrift earl. 15

By the time negotiations began for new leases, Earl George's own finances were in a parlous condition because of his huge privateering losses. In 1597 he assigned his College lease to his close friend and senior officer William Ingleby Esq. of Ripley and Thomas Ferrand,

^{14.} CCO, MS Estates, 114/12.

¹⁵ Curry, L/46/13. For the 1603 Rental, see Table (between pp. 24 and 25).

gent. of Carleton in Craven to enable them to devote the income to paying his debts. ¹⁶ So the new leases were really Ingleby's responsibility. He had become involved in Leeds affairs by purchasing Weetwood from the Crown, which he mostly retained until 1596. ¹⁷ For about five years subsequently he was in charge of Leeds tithe matters on the earl's behalf. His duty was to raise as much money from new leases as he could to stem the rising tide of Earl George's indebtedness. These points are worth stressing because continuity within the same family was the norm for the tithe-holders throughout Elizabeth I's reign, and the in-built conservatism of keeping to reliable and well-off tenants was reinforced by the circumstances in which new grants were made in both 1578 and 1597–1602.

V

The men who held tithe leases in 1597 and obtained new terms over the next few years were, as might be expected, principally men of substance in the parish, the gentry and yeomen of the out-townships and the leading clothiers of Leeds itself whose names have been made familiar by Joan Kirby's researches. 18 Of the gentry, the Hoptons of Armley Hall held the tithes of Armley continuously until the male line died out in the 1640s. They also took leases of Bramley until 1612. The Danbys likewise held Farnley tithes up to and beyond the Civil War. Thomas Skelton, gent. of Osmondthorpe was lessee of the tithes there in 1597 and his successors continued to hold them beyond the Great Rebellion. Gilbert Leigh, gent. of Middleton and his descendants retained the tithe of Skelton. Thomas Falkingham Esq. of North Hall held the tithe of his demesne lands, and then his son John up to 1619, the line ending with the latter's death in 1621. The Falkinghams, as will be seen, sub-let their tithes. Ralph Beeston Esq. of Beeston occupied the Kirkbeeston and Cottingley tithes until 1612. John Barnaby, gent. was paying £3 for Potter Newton and held on to it. Alexander Barnaby also was paying £3 for the tithe hay of the whole parish.

^{16.} YAS, DD 121/76.

¹⁷ J. M. Collinson, 'Weetwood and the Foxcroft Family, *University of Leeds Review*, 30 (1987–88), p.29.

¹⁸ The leases and main sources are given in the Table. Except where otherwise stated, biographical details are taken from Kirby, *Manor and Borough*, Appendix VII, and J. W. Kirby, 'A Leeds Elite: the Principal Burgesses of the First Leeds Corporation', *N*[orthern] H[istory], XX (1984), Appendix.

The tithes of two of the other large townships were in the hands of big local yeomen landowners. Thomas Marshall of Moor Allerton paid £130 for a new lease of Chapel Allerton, Moortown, Allerton Grange and Gledhow in 1597, though he appears to have assigned it to Thomas Hodgson of Allerton Grange, or at any rate to Hodgson's wife. 19 Headingley and Burley, with Bar Grange and Moor Grange, were in the hands of Francis More of Burley at his death in 1587. and he bequeathed them for three years to his daughter Elizabeth, and then to his son William. The latter sub-let the tithes of Moor Grange in 1605 to Samuel Burdette for ten years at a rent of £2 10s. od., and by his will of 1608 left this rent charge to his mother Anne, who had remarried, to Thomas Killingbeck of Moor Allerton. William bequeathed the main township tithes to his sisters Grace More and Elizabeth Murton, the wife of Francis Murton, the latter to pay Grace £40 at the age of twenty-one and a further £40 at the age of twenty-three or she to have the whole lease.20 Coldcotes remained in the Clerke family, from Thomas to William to Thomas in succession. William Harrison and his descendants occupied Gipton up to the Great Rebellion.

Holbeck and Wortley seem to have been variously held by lesser families, and the Cliffords' officers do not make clear whether they were lessees or under-tenants, payment of the rent being what mattered to them, not assignment of the leases. The one outsider amongst the tithe-holders was Thomas Grimston, gent. who had Wortley at the close of Elizabeth I's reign. But he was the brother of Sir Marmaduke Grimston of Grimston Garth on the East Riding coast; both were close friends of the Cliffords and, furthermore, their sister Jane had married John Hopton of Armley Hall.²¹ The Cliffords and the Hoptons remained closely linked to the end.

This pattern of the local parish gentry and substantial yeomen families purchasing successive tithe leases of their properties was a traditional one, inherited from Holy Trinity Priory, and perpetuated by the Cliffords' pecuniary needs and preferences and, of course, their ability to pay both entry fines and rents. But there were two townships where the biggest of the Leeds clothiers emulated their gentry counterparts. Leeds-Woodhouse, with the two closes 'Le Keyes' and the two Sheepscars, has an interesting sequence of tithe

19. L[eeds] C[ity] A[rchives], Ingilby Records, 2791.

²¹ Sir William Dugdale, Visitation of Yorkshire, with Additions, ed. J. W. Clay, 3 vols (1899–1917), III, 240–41.

²⁰ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Prob[ate] Reg[istry], XXIII, f.447v; XXX, f.460. I am grateful to J. M. Collinson for these references.

lessees, predominantly the Pawsons. John Pawson, clothier, of Kirkgate held the tithes and Leeds tithe barn when he died in 1577.²² His son Christopher then shared both holdings with another clothier John Haistell. At the same time, they occupied Falkingham's North Hall tithes as his under-tenants. They took new leases in 1612. From the time of the Civil War, perhaps earlier, the Pawsons were dominant as tithe-holders. Mr Henry Pawson of Leeds, clothier, held both Leeds-Woodhouse and Headingley-cum-Burley and continued to do so throughout the period under discussion. The other township, Hunslet, passed in 1561 from the biggest clothier of the period, Richard Booth, 23 to his successors, Christophers and Richards, sharing with another large clothier Thomas Reame in 1603, and continuing like that until 1640. The Calbecks were almost as prosperous clothiers as the Booths, and Edward and then John Calbeck held the tithes of grain and hay at Cadbeeston, whilst William Colcole occupied Knowestrop until well into James I's

reign.

The one recorded legal dispute of tithe-holders concerned Christopher Pawson and John Haistell of Leeds-Woodhouse and William More of Burley and his successors, his sister Grace, his brother-in-law Francis Murton and John Shanne. Both Murton and Shanne described themselves as Burley men, though both held burgages in Leeds. Pawson and Haistell, as sub-lessees of the Falkingham tithes in North Hall, claimed the tithe of certain parcels of Falkingham land lying within Headingley and Burley, which William More had bequeathed to Murton. The case went to arbitration by John Midgley of Headingley and Randall Tenche of Leeds. They concluded the parcels in question lay within the liberty of Headingley-cum-Burley and the baileywick of West Pontefract; not within Leeds Mainriding or Woodhouse. In an indenture made on 11 August 1609, Pawson and Haistell agreed to allow More and Murton to enjoy the tithes of sheaves, corn and grain growing within those parcels as part of the hamlets of Headingley and Burley. This was, therefore, a demarcation or boundary dispute, settled by the usual referral to records, including an earlier survey of Leeds. The Cliffords had no part in it. But in a marginal sense they were affected. One of the terms of the agreement was that the tithe of the parcels at issue be transferred into the Headingley-Burley lease permanently, and Pawson and Haistell agreed not to attempt to take

²². C. B. Northcliffe, 'The Pawson Inventory and Pedigree', PTh.S, IV (1894), 165.

²³. Testamenta Leodiensis, ed. G. D. Lumb (PTh.S, XXVII, 1930), 352-53; Kirby, Manor and Borough, p. xlvii, n. 121.

a new lease of these tithes in future. As will be described below, this may have led to the grounds becoming a separate holding. In return for this concession, Francis Murton paid £10 towards the legal expenses incurred by Pawson and Haistell. ²⁴ The arbitration brought a fair conclusion to the dispute, with honours even. Yet was it merely a quarrel over rights and rents, or an expression of commercial or political rivalries between Leeds men?

VI

The most powerful of the Cliffords' tithe-tenants was Sir John Savile of Howley, later Baron Savile, whose role as the great local landowner, spokesman of the clothier interest, and in the incorporation of Leeds is too well known to rehearse here. The Cliffords were consistently political opponents of Savile, both as supporters of the Cecil faction, and then of Earl Francis's son-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth.²⁵ One might expect an edge in their relationships over tithes, and that was the case. The Saviles were recent incomers into the West Riding; hence their relatively late intrusion into Leeds tithe matters.

Savile's first was, indeed, an odd interference, the nuances not easy to judge. In 1603 the Beeston lease fell in and the obvious man to take a new term was the sitting tenant Ralph Beeston Esq. He had the £80 to pay the fine demanded. But Savile intervened and wrote to Earl George that he was prepared to pay the money and indeed preferred to. Earl George agreed, though rather curtly, and instructed William Ingleby accordingly. As it turned out Savile merely acted as intermediary, passing on Beeston's cash. Perhaps Savile was pushing himself forward, acting as Beeston's patron, or there was some animosity towards Ingleby, whose Roman Catholic recusancy was an easy target for aggressive Puritans in the county. If, however, the initiative came from Beeston there may be another explanation. Because of Ferrand's death, Ingleby was the sole grantor of leases. To give the assurance Savile requested, Earl George promised to join with Ingleby in signing the lease. This, for Beeston certainly, was a sensible precaution. 26

²⁴ West Yorkshire Deeds, ed. W. Robertshaw (Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society, Local Record Series, 2, Bradford, 1936) 103–4; Kirby, Manor and Borough, pp.101, 249.

^{25.} J. T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War (1969), p.136. ^{26.} LCA, Ingilby Records, 2792, 2793.

Savile became a tithe-lessee himself in 1612. He paid £120 for the reversion of the tithes of Bramley, then held by John Hopton and William More of Burley whose lease still had six years to run. Savile's, like most of the leases Earl Francis granted between 1611 and 1613, was in reversion, to commence on the expiry of the existing leases in 1618. The shorter term of fourteen years for these new grants would take them up to the end of the Cliffords' own tenure when all the Leeds leases would expire. This is yet another occasion when the Cliffords' urgent need for cash forced them to anticipate future income, since Earl Francis could not wait until 1618 for the entry fines he would collect for renewing the leases.²⁷

In 1613 Savile made an assignment which might be interpreted as a favour to one of his clothier tenants. He granted to John Morley of Bramley, clothier, all the tithes growing on two messuages and two closes which Savile had demised to Richard Morley (presumably John's father) and John Musgrave. The rent was 14s. od., which they would pay to the earl's receiver, and the term fourteen years, again in reversion, and so to commence in 1618 when Hopton's and More's lease expired. This was not an isolated grant. Although no other survives in his estate papers, Savile sub-let the tithes of his farm to William Moore of Burley, clothier, who died in 1617, and no doubt this was his general policy and a departure from Hopton's and More's which was to retain all the Bramley tithe crops in their own hands.²⁸ There is clearly a political intent here, but also a possible link with the difficulties both the Cliffords and Corks were to have with the Bramley men, which have been outlined above.

Earl Francis's 1611–13 leases, shown in the Table, brought in at least £748 35. 4d. in entry fines, according to notes made later in the seventeenth century, ²⁹ only one of the original leases being extant. These leases mark the first change in the rather cosy practice of regranting mostly to sitting tenants. The other factor, of course, was the changing social and economic structure in Leeds which Joan Kirby has delineated. New blood and new money now joined the older families of the parish, some of whom were in decline. ³⁰

Of the new men who now became tenants, Sir John Savile has already been mentioned. Earl Francis let Potter Newton in 1610 to his friend and political ally Sir Henry Savile of Methley, the terms

²⁷ Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Book of Grants.

^{28.} Nottingham County Record Office, DDS R (5), 234/106; Borthwick, Prob. Reg., XXXIV, f.460.

^{29.} Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Book of Grants.

^{30.} Kirby, Leeds Elite, passim.

not being recorded.31 At Chapel Allerton, the notorious Thomas Metcalfe, bailiff of Leeds, took a moiety along with the sitting tenant Thomas Marshall, each paying a £60 fine. Three Leeds merchants, William and Bernard Lodge and Thomas Brough, now became prominent tithe-holders. William Lodge took a lease of Holbeck for a \$20 fine. William Lodge and Richard Booth renewed their occupation of Hunslet with the tithe barn, each paying £45 as fine. Bernard Lodge and his wife Margaret had in 1608 been granted a ten-years' lease of the tithe hay by Earl Francis for 'Divers Good Causes' (probably indicating a loan), replacing Barnaby. The Beeston reign ended in Kirkbeeston and Cottingley. Thomas Brough got the reversion at a cost of £90. In 1619 he also took over the North Hall demesnes from John Falkingham for a £5 fine and £6 yearly rent. Edmond Clough became the tenant at Knowestrop instead of William Colcole, for which he paid £62 10s. od., and Thomas Taylor the two Lilbery Closes in place of the Fawcetts. John Hopton Esq. retained Armley, and may have obtained Wortley too, for a £30 fine.32

This impression of Leeds tithe-holders in the early Jacobean period is in one sense modified, in another amplified by the tithe-cause cases which are extant in the Borthwick Institute. These throw further light on assignments of leases, already touched on, and on disputes over collection and farming practices, unveiling aspects of rural life and attitudes within the Leeds parish townships. For instance, Sir Henry Savile of Methley, lessee of Potter Newton tithes, pursued in separate causes Thomas Linley for two cartloads of hay taken in 1610 and 1611, Edith Linley also for two cartloads in 1613, and Katherine Brown for one cartload in 1614, each load said to be worth ten shillings.

At the same time as Francis Murton and his wife and sister were defending their rights against Pawson and Haistell, they were taking action in the ecclesiastical court against Rowland Hatefield of Burley. By his own confession, Hatefield had 201 stooks of oats in his close called Burley Close or Burley Carr in September 1609. When Murton came early to the field, he found Hatefield leading away the oats without laying out the tenth part and agreeing tithe as he had to do both by Headingley-cum-Burley custom and the statute

31. Borthwick, (Tithe Causes) CPH, 1059.

³² Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Book of Grants. Extracts, covering Skelton, Osmondthorpe and Holbeck, taken later from a Rental of Tithe Hay for Leeds parish dated 10 July 1615, are in LCA, DB 213/97. Gilbert Leigh was paying 6s. 8d., Seth Skelton, 2s. 4d.

2 and 3 Edward VI, c.13. With the help of friendly neighbours, Murton laid out the tithe of 110 stooks, but Hatefield carried part of this away with the rest of his crop. He then closed up the field and said to Murton and his servants 'he would see, who durst fetch any tithe there'. Alexander Cooke, the vicar of Leeds, began a suit for his small tithes against Thomas Weightman in 1615.³³

VII

These 1612 leases all expired when the original Chaloner lease ended. Both the Dean and Chapter and the Cliffords were keen to negotiate a new lease; the College for the big entry fine they could expect and the chance at last to bring their rents into line with prices, the Cliffords because they had been forced to relinquish their lucrative cloth licence to the duke of Richmond and Lennox and could not afford to lose the tithe lease also.34 They agreed new terms as early as 1626, the College granting a bridging lease until Chaloner's lease fell in. This coincided with the incorporation of Leeds. It was, indeed, only a coincidence. The scribe who had made the Cliffords' copy of Chaloner's lease made an error in the date, writing I Edward VI instead of 5 Edward VI. Only afterwards did the College Treasurer and Earl Francis's officers realise the mistake. They need not have started negotiating until 1629. So they had to go through the whole process again, this time with the new lease to the Cliffords commencing in 1631, not 1628. What it meant, of course, was that Earl Francis paid his £1,200 fine to the College in 1626.

The Dean and Chapter had learnt their lesson over inflation. They were not to be caught again. They limited the new lease to twenty-one years and, more important, they took advantage of the statute 18 Eliz., c. 6, said to have been devised by Lord Burghley and Sir Thomas Smith to offset the fall in the value of money resulting from the inflation. Two-thirds of the £138 12s. od. rent was to be paid in cash as before; the other third, as the statute laid down, in wheat and malt at notional rates at the prices prevailing in Oxford market. This astute yet simple change in fact doubled the rent the Cliffords paid, as both parties knew it would, because the market prices were far above the notional. The increase was passed on to

³⁴ R. T. Spence, 'The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579–1646' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of London, 1959), pp.271–72.

³³ Borthwick, CPH, 907, 1007, 1059, 483, 1020. On the statute, see Giles Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, 2 vols (1797), II, section Tithe V. I am grateful to J. M. Collinson for drawing this to my attention.

the Leeds lessees who by 1637 were paying about £340 a year in rent, four times what they used to pay, though from this time onwards they did not pay entry fines.³⁵

Moreover, this 1631 lease in practice only lasted until 1639 when a new twenty-one-years' lease was agreed. Both the College and Earl Francis needed the money which fines would bring. But perhaps the mutual purpose was defensive, because of worries about the Scottish War. Most, though not all, of the Leeds tithes were now being rackrented yearly. One exception was Robert Benson, the Leeds attorney whom Earl Francis employed in his dealings with the College. The earl borrowed £400 from him and the merchant William Lodge to help pay the new fine to the College. In return, he granted Benson a fifteen-years' lease of a moiety of the tithe hay in 1640, without rent, which was worth £9 a year to the lawyer. This grant was the start of one problem which became a major issue in the 1670s, as will be seen later.

In another friendly grant, Earl Henry on 20 April 1641 leased the tithes of the township and hamlet of Skelton to Elizabeth Leigh of Skelton, widow, for seven years at a rent of £6 115. od., she having previously shared them with George Loftus and William Gee, to whom she may have then assigned the lease. The rents paid for Armley and Farnley Halls, Leeds mills and the vicars' pensions remained fixed. In theory the policy of rackrenting meant that market forces and prevailing prices would fine-tune the level of rents, possibly down but in the long term upwards. As it turned out, over the next ten years it was the turmoil of war and then the financial problems of Richard Boyle, 2nd earl of Cork which, with the fluctuating price of corn, were to be the decisive factors in determining the level of the tithe rents.

Leeds suffered in the Civil War from sieges, destruction and billeting of troops, and these disturbances were compounded in 1645 by the outbreak of the plague. From the spring of 1644 the parish was under Parliamentary control. Henry, the 5th and last earl of Cumberland who had died in December 1643 and his successor the earl of Cork were both active Royalists, and in consequence the

³⁵ CCO, MS Estates, Yorks., Long Preston, A/2,3,4; Bolton MSS, Bk 134, f.4r. On the statute's effects, see Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, II, section Lease II.

³⁶. CCO, MS Estates, Yorks., Long Preston, A/5.

^{37.} Bolton MSS, Bk 177, f.214.

^{38.} Y[orkshire] R[oyalist] C[omposition] P[apers], II, ed. J. W. Clay (YAS R[ecord] S[eries], XVIII, 1895), 88–89.

^{39.} Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Indenture.

Leeds tithes were sequestrated.⁴⁰ This misfortune did not deter the Dean and Chapter from demanding the tithe rents from Cork in October 1644, and setting them according to the price of wheat and malt in Oxford market, which brought Cork's debt to them up to £500. The College action forced him to petition Charles I to avoid forfeiting his lease for non-payment. The King's Oxford headquarters were in Christ Church, and he told the Dean and Chapter to desist.⁴¹ The Parliamentary sequestrators fared no better. What with the dislocation in Leeds and the soldiers not stinting on food for themselves and fodder for their horses, the sequestrators never managed in any one year to collect more than £100 of the £340 rents now due to them from Leeds.⁴²

The altered political and economic circumstances within Leeds parish and of the tithe-farmer brought about one of the periodic sea-changes in the tithe-holders. The 1651 list of Cork's tenants⁴³ is a mixture of the old and the new, and reflects the influence of the Parliamentary dominance now in the parish, but equally the attitude of Elizabeth Clifford, countess of Cork, a very able lady who was efficiently managing the Bolton Abbey and Londesborough estates which she and her husband had inherited from her father. Earl Henry. In 1651 the parish gentry are still well in evidence. The Hoptons hold Armley and Wortley tithes, though not for long. Lady Hopton has Armley Hall, Mr Skelton, Osmondthorpe and Sir Thomas Danby, Farnley, but from these three no rent had been collected for fourteen years by the countess's command, and her father's before then of course. The same applies to Robert Benson's lease of the tithe hay. Similarly, rent for the tithe of Leeds mills was behind by three years; another Royalist with problems.

William Lodge had been one of the Cliffords' creditors and his widow Elizabeth had a lease of Hunslet for the length of the College term at a minimal rent whilst Cork slowly repaid the large and long overdue debts. The Pawsons are now entrenched in Burley and Headingley in addition to Leeds-Woodhouse as of yore, a permanent merger, the rent for the two townships now £100 a year. The two big newcomers are Mr Gilbert Cowper, yeoman, of Knowestrop who is paying £38 10s. od. yearly rent for Chapel Allerton and Knowestrop, and Lieutenant Laithman or Laidman, a close friend

⁴⁰ Steven Burt and Kevin Grady, War, Plague and Trade: Leeds in the Seventeenth Century (Leeds, n.d.), pp.10, 24-31; YRCP, II, 122-23.

^{41.} CCO, Book of Receipts, 1644, 1645; MS Estates, 107/85, 86, 90.

^{42.} Chatsworth, Londesborough Papers, I (i) 12.

⁴³ Except where otherwise stated, the following discussion is based on Chatsworth, unlisted MS, 1651 Rental.

of the Puritan vicar of Leeds William Stiles,⁴⁴ who combines Kirkbeeston and Cottingley now with Cadbeeston, a second large and permanent merger, at a rent of £40 a year. William Kitchenman has Lilbery Closes.

Two new smaller tithe-holdings had been created, going against the general trend, which was amalgamation. George Pickering has the tithe corn at Gledhow. John Droning, gent. of Leeds, has been granted the tithe of his farm at North Hall Wood in Headingley township. ⁴⁵ Droning's farm had previously been in the hands of Walter Lecocke, and more recently held by Abraham Hinchcliffe and Richard Pawson, both important men in Leeds affairs. As suggested above, it was conceivably that part of Falkingham's demesne which had been found in 1609 to lie within Headingley and thereafter became a discreet tenancy.

The shift in power and wealth in Leeds since the incorporation in 1626 is evident to some degree in the tithe-holders. Already mentioned or implied are the corporators Ralph Hopton of Armley, Seth Skelton of Osmondthorpe, John Cowper of Knowestrop, and the attorney Robert Benson. The others who had become tithe-holders during the 1630s and 1640s were Richard Sykes of Leeds, whose daughter-in-law was holding half of Coldcotes in 1651, and William Stable of Knowestrop who by then had taken over the tithe of Droning's farm. Francis Allanson, another alderman, held that tenancy in 1656. But there were other social forces at work which were also recognised in the leasing. They are not easy to distinguish from the upside-down world of the Interregnum and the political and financial restraints on the Corks.

The township of Bramley gives the impression of being perhaps out of step with the rest of the parish from the period of Savile's intrusion in 1612. Earl Francis recovered hidden tithes there by litigation in 1639, as described above. In 1651 it was one of two townships let severally to various of its inhabitants. In the following year, many of the Bramley men detained their rents, and the earl of Cork was put to considerable expense in 1653 in treating and compounding with those – far from all – who agreed to come in. The other township was Potter Newton where four tenants shared the tithes, John and William Mancklaus, Edward England, and

⁴⁴ The Sieges of Pontefract Castle 1644–1648, ed. Richard Holmes (Pontefract, 1887), p. 388.

⁴⁵ Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Indenture, 20 April 1641. Droning may have been the clothier whose wife's (unlisted) will is in Borthwick, Prob. Reg., Jan. 1635–36.

another Parliamentary soldier Lieutenant Cowper; but which of the Cowpers is he?

Likewise, there is one tenancy which indicates some of the new commercial forces at work on the parish. Skelton Grange and Neville Hills lay on the road from York, Selby and Ferrybridge. They were so convenient for carriages that they were now yielding in grass – hay for the draught horses perhaps more than grazing – as much as when sown with corn. George Loftus, the tenant of a third part, had virtually stopped corn production in favour of grass. Now this change would lose Countess Elizabeth income or Loftus the holding, so to save both he was given a nine-years' lease. Whether he then sowed corn or converted to grass would be up to him, but the countess's intention was to continue grain crops. 46 Prevailing corn prices were obviously a critical factor in yearly rackrenting. A comment by one of the Corks' officers in 1657 that Leeds tithe rents could be improved that year because corn prices were going up is one sign of their keen commercial awareness.⁴⁷ And of course they were dealing with shrewd and competitive Leeds merchants and clothiers, hard bargainers themselves.

VIII

The 1639 College lease was renewed in 1652 to two of the earl of Cork's servants acting on his behalf.⁴⁸ Cork was in such financial difficulty because of the sequestration of his estates that he borrowed £350 from three Leeds tenants to help pay the College fine. The differing experiences of these men are worth mentioning because they reveal something of the complexity of the relations between the farmers and the Leeds tenants which had grown since the 1630s. It is interesting to note that during the 1630s Leeds began to supplant York as the place to which the Cliffords and then the Corks looked for loans in the county, and through which they channelled moneys to London and thence to Oxford, by bills of exchange drawn on, for instance during the 1650s, Mr Thomas Walker of Leeds or his wife when Walker was himself in London. Robert Benson at Furnival's Inn and his brother Christopher in Leeds were their other main conduit for transactions. Before this time Leeds was usually by-passed in favour of York or Halifax for money, and Bradford -Wakefield - London in travel. The Corks, moreover, were the first

^{46.} Bolton MSS, Bk 274, f.22.

⁴⁷ Chatsworth, unlisted MS, 'Observations'.

⁴⁸ CCO, MS Estates, Yorks., Long Preston, A/6.

to send cattle from their Bolton Abbey estate to Leeds Fair, and sold their tithe wool from Bolton to John Hudson the Leeds clothier – signs of the rising importance of Leeds and the Corks' nexus with

the borough during the Interregnum. 49

Of the new creditors, the merchant Mr Richard Lodge had lent the earl £200 to help pay the College fine in 1652, besides taking over the other Lodge debts which Cork agreed to repay at a hundred marks per annum assigned from the Leeds tithe rents. For good measure, a cow Lodge sent from Leeds was over-wintered at Bolton Abbey in 1651-52 without charge, at a cost to Cork of fifteen shillings. In July 1653 Lodge requested that the £100 still owed him be repaid because he now had great hopes of trading - a sign of improvement in the cloth market - and it was repaid by Cork, if reluctantly. 50 Gilbert Cowper and Henry Pawson had lent the other £150 and were recouping it gradually through reduced rents. But in 1655 they had difficulty in paying even these low rents, claiming the bargain in 1652 had been too hard - which Cork's officer confirmed – and corn prices had fallen heavily. The officer pointed out to him that 'they were old Tenants and ever stuck to your honors on all occasions', and could not continue with the tenancies without abatement of the rent.⁵¹ Mutual loyalty is one of the characteristics of the relationships between the Corks and several of their main Leeds tenants during the Interregnum. Another large debt reflected in a tithe lease was the £500 Cork had borrowed from the Leeds merchant Mr Richard Taylor. He occupied Armley rent free on a seven-years' lease granted on 22 December 1651 in lieu of interest. 52

However, these apart, the decade of the 1650s was one of frequent changes in the tenancies. This is what one would expect with annual leasing in a period of political flux and uncertainty. But a number of names now appear on the rentals which were to become permanent tithe-holders, notably the Dixons, David Fenton, and, in Coldcotes, Edward Prince. The College lease was renewed at the Restoration, 53 and again in 1672. Four successive leases, in theory for twenty-one years, had therefore lasted eight, twelve, eight, and eleven years.

50. Bolton MSS, Bks 274, ff. 19, 25; 253, f. 11.

52. Bolton MSS, Bk 274, f. 24.

⁴⁹ Bolton MSS, Bks 275, ff. 12–13; 276, ff. 7, 14; 277, f. 6; 278, ff. 6, 8, 29.

⁵¹ Chatsworth, Bolton Abbey MSS, Box 2, 1656 Rental, f.93. Cowper had paid a £50 fine, Pawson £100 (Bolton MSS, Bk 274, f.5).

⁵³ The only change in the 18 February 1661 lease was that Burlington agreed to double the stipends of the clergy, the dues to the King, and to the church poor (CCO, MS Estates, Yorks., Long Preston, A/7).

The College did well out of the fines and rents; the Corks pretty well, all things considered, and the Leeds tithe-holders dispensed a great deal of money on what must have been for them, too, a profitable business. As Leeds's population and manufacturing grew, so must the value of the township's fields and produce. But with market forces at work the Corks' annual tithe revenues fluctuated wildly. In 1659 the Leeds tithes produced £352; in 1662 £404; in 1672 only £312; in 1675 £395.54

ΙX

The fraught years of the 1650s were not followed by calm after the Restoration. Indeed, the period of greatest strain in relations between the College, the farmer and the Leeds men started in the late 1660s and did not end until 1675. The earl of Burlington (as Cork now was) paid £1,000 fine to the College for the new lease in 1672. But it looks as if his arm was already being twisted by the Dean, Dr Fell. The new lease was again for twenty-one years, but Burlington was obliged to renew every seven years in future, with a penalty clause of paying double rent for every year of non-renewal. This, he lamented in his diary, he had been forced to do over the past four years, during which his annual rent of £500 had been doubled to £1,000.

On 15 July 1672, the mayor of Leeds and several of the townsmen travelled to Bolton Abbey to meet the earl who then set the Leeds tithe rents for that year. 55 This is the first recorded instance of a corporate or at least collective negotiation of rents compared with the individual contracting which had been the rule at least up to the Civil Wars. This collectivity became even more apparent in the dispute between Burlington and Leeds as a whole which began at this time over rents for tithe hay in the parish. The key to this dispute was the pressure on Burlington by the College during the 1670s. The tithe hay rents, he claimed, had not been paid for forty-four years, which takes us back to Robert Benson's tenure and the confusion of the Civil War and sequestration.

What Burlington was obviously demanding now was not the rent but the potentially far more profitable payment of the tithe hay in kind. This may have been no more than a bargaining counter. It was, however, a threat which touched practically every farmer and small-holder in the parish. The 'Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty

⁵⁴ Chatsworth, Bolton Abbey MSS, Box 2, 1659–1662 Account; Box 3, 1675 Rental. ⁵⁵ Chatsworth, Hardwick MS 79, ff.89, 100.

of the Borough of Leedes, and the Parishioners' fought Burlington's demand, produced 'auncient Bokes of an auncient Composition or Modus Decimandi for Tythe Hay', and several ancient witnesses to prove the hay could not be paid in kind. In 1676 the parties made a settlement. The parishioners agreed to pay Burlington £250 composition for the arrears, and in future the *modus* of £10 os. 11d. ⁵⁶ Burlington's lease of the tithe hay in 1687 to Thomas Dixon for seven years and a rent of £6 6s. 8d. is printed in volume XXIV of *Publications of the Thoresby Society*. The appended list of the payers is an illuminating document which gives a valuable insight into landholding, tenancies and tenants in the parish at that particular moment. ⁵⁷

The College demands compelled Burlington into a change of policy on letting the tithes. Instead of annual leasing, in 1675 he granted the main townships on seven-years' leases with a set rent. The list of tenants, as at earlier times when there was a forced shift in policy, reveals both continuity and change. The big change is the amalgamation of townships and their concentration in fewer hands; 'entrepreneurs' they might be termed. Mr Gilbert Cowper still holds Knowestrop. A big new tenant is Daniel Fenton who now combines Chapel Allerton, Woodside and Gledhow, North Hall, Hunslet and Holbeck at a rent of £90. John Walker and Thomas Foster have taken the now joint townships of Leeds-Woodhouse and Headingley with Burley. The Dixon dynasty is well in evidence. Mr Thomas Dixon, the most powerful of the current aldermen, holds Potter Newton, and will soon get the Leeds tithe-hay lease in addition. Ralph Dixon holds Wortley tithe; John Robinson, Armley; Michael Middlebrooke, Bramley; and Mr Robert Pickering has Beeston. George Loftus and Mrs Thompson still pay the tithes rents for Skelton Grange and Neville Hills, and Edward Prince, Coldcotes. But at Farnley Hall and Osmondthorpe the old families retain their properties' tithes and, moreover, claim them by prescription, with the rents still at their 1603 level, as Mr Stapleton now does for Armley Hall. 58

The mini-upheaval which occurred from 1672 to 1676 was a consequence of the financial impositions of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church who were now, on the Leeds evidence, making the most of their immense estates. Yet Burlington managed to retain

56. Thoresby, Vicaria, pp.111–12.

⁵⁸ Chatsworth, Bolton Abbey MSS, Box 3, 1675 Rental.

⁵⁷ 'Lease, dated 1687, of the Tithe of Hay in Leeds by the Earl of Burlington to Thomas Dixon', ed. G. D. Lumb, *PTh.S*, XXIV (1919), 401–19.

a fair profit, his Craven tithes bringing in more than Leeds. As under the Cliffords, gathering tithes gave profits at every level, down to the under-tenants like Savile's Bramley yeomen-clothiers. What altered from time to time was probably the proportion which each party could obtain. And certainly, from 1626, it is the College which is calling the tune, and the Cliffords and Burlingtons having to work far harder to protect their share of the profits.

The external pressure of Christ Church and the Burlingtons, combined with the rapid economic and social change which saw Leeds's population rise to 7,000 in 1700, altered tithe-holding in the parish. By the 1670s this was on a larger scale and had become more of a business, not the ancillary activity it had been in the Elizabethan era. Furthermore, the social spectrum had narrowed, a handful of substantial entrepreneurs had taken over the main townships, and their relations with the farmer were more strictly commercial and on a more equal footing than a century earlier. Leeds's governing élite, both individually and as the borough rulers, were established as in effect the local managers of the parish tithes.

A seemingly jaundiced view of these entrepreneurs from the aggrieved son of Sir Abstrupus Danby may not be far from the mark. The Danbys, who had suffered heavily during the Civil Wars and then from a minority and family dispute, still profited from collecting their Farnley tithes and for many years had avoided paying the miniscule £2 os. od. for the grain and 10s. for the hay. Countess Juliana put an end to that, after the first warning shots from her husband Charles, 2nd earl of Burlington, shortly before his death. As mother and guardian of Richard, 3rd earl of Burlington she had paid Christ Church £1,500 for a new lease and had to recoup that outlay. She therefore claimed the Farnley corn and hay tithes in kind in 1708, which were now worth £40 a year, and sent her agents to demand them. Sir Abstrupus fought her demands and the Chancery suit she initiated later that year.

His diligent search for documentary proof of a monastic or Crown grant is a model of its kind. However, hampered by the loss of his family papers in the Civil Wars and the bulk of those in St Mary's Tower - those that had been rescued were in terrible condition by now - he could not sustain his counter claim of a modus decimandi from Holy Trinity or patent from Henry VIII. The Lord Chancellor found against Sir Abstrupus and his three tenants who were codefendants and they had to pay both costs and the enhanced tithe rent. Dr Skelton and the Nevilles who likewise claimed a modus for Osmondthorpe and Leeds mills were thereby put at risk. Danby's son, writing to him from Farnley on 19 December 1713, expressed

Leeds Parish Tithes and Tenants, 1579–1675 (opposite)

Table: Notes

¹ YAS, DD 121/29/23.

² Chatsworth, unlisted MS, Book of Grants.

^{3.} Chatsworth, Londesborough Papers, E/15.

⁴ Chatsworth, unlisted MS, 1651 Rental, ff.78–79.

5 Chatsworth, Bolton Abbey MSS, Box 2, 1656 Rental, ff. 92-93.

6. Box 2, 1659-60 Rental, ff. 161-62.

7. Box 3, 1674 Rental.

8. Borthwick, Prob. Reg. XXIII, f.447v.

- ^{9.} C. B. Northcliffe, 'The Pawson Inventory and Pedigree', *PTh.S*, IV (1894), 165.
- 10. LCA, Ingilby Records, 2791.
- 11. Borthwick, CPH, 1059.

12. YRCP, II, pp.88-89.

- 13. Bolton MSS, Bk 274, f. 24.
- ^{14.} Bolton MSS, Bk 274, f.5.

Leeds Parish Tithes and Tenants, 1579-1675

£ -					Leeds Par	rish Tithes and	Tenants, 1579	-1675							D
Main Tithe Holdings	1579	1597–1602	16031	Rent	1608/1619 Leases²	Fines	1646 Rent ³	16514	Rent	1656 ^s	Rent	1660 ⁶	Rent	1675 ⁷ (7 years' leases)	Rent
ARMLEY Rycote Grange Wyther Grange			John Hopton Esq. of Armley Hall	£11 os. od.	John Hopton Esq.	£ 30 os. od.	£ 46 os. od. (with Wortley)	Mr Hopton (with Wortley)	£40 os. od.	Mr Richard Taylor of Leeds ¹³ 7 years' lease 22 Dec. 1651	Nil	Edward Geldart	£15 os. od.	John Robinson	£ 17 Os. Od
Armley Hall, with hay			John Hopton Esq.	£ 1 os. od.	_	_	£ 2 18s. od.	Lady Hopton	£ 1 os. od.	Mr Stapleton	£ 1 os. od.	Ibid	Ibid	?	?
BRAMLEY		John Hopton Esq. of Armley Hall William More of Burley, 21 years' lease, 25 March 1597		Ibid	Sir John Savile, 14 years' lease in reversion 20 Nov. 1612	\$120 Os. od.	£ 30 os. od.	Let severally Daniel Thackray Mr Thomas Marlowe		Jonathan Swyer and Christopher Jackson	£ 10 0s. od.	Mr Iveson and Robert Beanes (five men excepted)	£20 os. od.	Michael Middlebrocke	£ 28 Os. Od
HEADINGLEY cum BURLEY Bar Grange Moor Grange	Francis More of Burley, yeoman, ⁸ 21 years' lease (will: 1587)	-	William More of Burley John Shanne, yeoman Francis Murton, yeoman		-	-	£100 os. od. (with Leeds Woodhouse)	Mr Henry Pawson of Leeds, clothier	?	Mr Henry Pawson ¹⁴ 7 years lease, 6 Oct. 1652 (with Leeds Woodhouse)			Ibid	John Walker and Thomas Foster	£ 85 os. od
							£ 3 os. od. (Mr Droning's Farm)	Mr Stables	£ 4 os. od.	Mr Allanson	£ 2 os. od.	Mrs Manson	£ 2 os. od.	?	?
CHAPEL ALLERTON Moortown Allerton Grange		Thomas Marshall of Moor Allerton, yeoman, 10 21 years' lease, 25 March 1597. Fine £130. Rent £4	Thomas Hodgson's wife (sub-tenant)	£ 4 os. od.	Thomas Marshall John Metcalfe, 14 years' in reversion, 20 May 1612	£ 60 os. od. £ 60 os. od.	£ 38 ros. od. (with Knowestrop)	Mr Gilbert Cowper of Knowestrop, yeoman	?	Mr Gilbert Cowper, 14 7 years' lease 12 Oct. 1652 (with Knowestrop)	£ 40 os. od.	Ibid	Ibid	Daniel Fenton	£ 26 os. od.
Gledhow							£ 1 8s. od. (part of Gledhow)	George Pickering	£ 1 os. od.	George Pickering	£ 1 10s. od.	Gilbert Powle	£45 os. od.	/	
LEEDS WOODHOUSE	clothier (will: 1577)	John Haistell of Leeds, yeoman			Christopher Pawson John Haistell, 20 years' leases, 30 May 1611	£ 60 os. od. £ 60 os. od.	with Headingley	Ibid	see Headingley	Ibid	see Headingley	Ibid	see Headingley	Ibid	see Headingley
Leeds Tithe Barn North Hall demesnes	John Pawson	Christopher Pawson and John Haistell [Thomas Falkingham	Thomas Falkingham of	£ 6 os. od.	Thomas Brough of Leeds,	£ 5 0s. 0d.	£ 15 0s. od.	?	?	James Netherwood	£ 5 0s. 0d.	Ibid	£15 os. od.	Daniel Fenton	£ 21 Os. Od.
POTTER NEWTON, with hay		Esq. of North Hall] Rent £2 10s. od.	North Hall	at will	merchant, 13 years' lease 30 May 1619	2 3 03. 0w.	2 13 657 657								
		[John Barnaby, gent.]	John Barnaby, gent.		Sir Henry Savile of Methley'' 1610	?	\$ 25 os. od.	John Mancklaus William Mancklaus Edward England	£40 os. od.	William Mancklaus Edward England Thomas Crawshaw	£ 21 Os. Od.	Mr Dixon and Mr Fenton	£50 os. od.	Mr Thomas Dixon	£ 56 os. od.
Gipton		1/2 William Harrison, elder, 21 years' lease 1597	William Harrison	£ 1 os. od.	William Harrison, 14 years' in reversion, 20 May 1612	£ 40 os. od.		Lieutenant Cowper							
COLDCOTES, with hay		Thomas Clerke	William Clerke	£ 1 os. od.	Thomas Clerke	£ 16 os. od.	·	Widow Thompson	£ 4 10s. od. £ 3 5s. od.	Edward England	£ 2 6s. 8d. £ 3 5s. od.	Edward England – hay	£ 0 5s. od.	Edward Prince	£ 2 15s. od.
SKELTON GRANGE		Peter Marston	Cille and I wind a source of	C1	Elizabeth Leich wildow	Carl as al	£ 3 4s. od.	Mrs Sykes 2/3Lieutenant	£ 1 10s. od.	?		Mr Thompson and			
Neville Hills			Gilbert Leigh, gent. of Middleton	1 0 12s. Oa.	Elizabeth Leigh, widow	£ 16 os. od.	£ 2 0s. 0d.	Thompson 1/3GeorgeLoftus		George Loftus		Mr Iveson George Loftus		Mrs Thompson George Loftus	£ 2 10s. od.
OSMONDTHORPE		Thomas Skelton, gent.	Peter Skelton	£ 1 os. od.	-	-	£ 410s. od.	Mr Henry Skelton	£ 1 os. od.	Mr Skelton	£ 1 os. od.		Ibid	Ibid	Ibid
KIRKBEESTON Cottingley		Ralph Beeston Esq. of Beeston	Ibid 15 years' lease 29 Aug. 1603, Fine: £90	£ 3 6s. 8d.	Thomas Brough of Leeds, merchant, 14 years in reversion, 20 May 1612	£ 90 os. od.	£ 40 os. od.	Lieutenant Laithman	£40 os. od.	Mr Christopher Hodgson and Francis Winde	£ 22 os. od.	Mr Robert Pickering	£45 os. od.	?	£ 35 0s. od.
Cadbeeston			John Calbeck	£ 0 10s. od.	John Calbeck, 21 years' lease, 20 March 1612	£ 20 os. od.]							
Lilbery Closes (when sown)		William Fawcett	Bryan Fawcett	£ 0 6s. 8d.	Thomas Taylor, 21 years' lease, 20 March 1612	£ 3 13s. 4d.	£ 4 0s. od.	William Kitchenman	£ 4 0s. od.	?	?	?	?	?	?
HUNSLET	74ChristopherBooth of Leeds, yeoman (d. 1593)	Richard Booth, yeoman	Christopher Booth Thomas Reame	£ 413s. 4d.	Richard Booth, yeoman William Lodge of Leeds, merchant, 20 years' leases, 20 March 1612	£ 45 os. od. £ 45 os. od.	£ 0 10s. od.	Mrs Lodge during	£ 0.10s. od.	Mrs Lodge, lease	£ 0 10s. od.	?	\$40.05 od	Daniel Fenton	
HOLBECK		%Thomas Connell. //3Janet Lupton, 21 years' lease, 10 July 1597	Robert Poppleton Agnes Lupton	£ 1 os. od.	William and Marjorie Lodge, 14 years' in reversion, 4 June 1613	£ 20 0s. od.		College term	2 0 1007 000		04.			Daniel Folion	£ 43 os. od.
WORTLEY		Thomas Grimston	William Kitchen	£ 113s. 4d.	with Armley		Ibid	Ibid		?	£ 10 os. od.	Mr Abraham Dixon	£15 os. od.	Ralph Dixon	£ 26 os. od.
FARNLEY, with hay			Lady Danby	£ 2 10s. od.	?	?	£ 2 0s. 0d.	Sir Thomas Danby	£ 2 10s. od.	Ibid	Ibid	Mr Thomas Danby	£ 2 10s. od.	Ibid	Ibid
KNOWESTROP, with hay		William Colcole and one other, 21 years' lease 1597	William Colcole	£ 3 6s. 8d.	Edmond Clough, 14 years' in reversion, 20 May	£ 62 10s. od.	with Chapel Allerton	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	Mr Gilbert Cowper	£ 25 os. od
TITHE HAY		*39/	Alexander Barnaby	£ 3 os. od.	Bernard Lodge of Leeds, merchant, and Margaret his wife, 10 years' lease, 29 Sept. 1608	-	-	Robert Benson of Leeds, 12 Attorney, 1/2 hay, 15 years' lease, 1640	-	see text	-	-	-	-	-
LEEDS MILLS			John Lindley Esq.	£ 1 6s. 8d.	Ibid	-	£ 1 6s. 8d.	Ibid	Ibid	Mr Francis Neville, owner Mr George Marshall, tenant	£ 1 6s. 8d.	-	-	-	£ 1 6s. 8d
VICAR OF LEEDS pension				£10 0s. od.	Ibid	-	£ 10 os. od.	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	£ 10 os. od.	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	\$ 10 os. od
VICAR OF ADEL pension				£ 613s. 4d.	Ibid	_	£ 613s. 4d.	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	£ 613s. 4d.	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid	£ 613s. 4d
7 10121 == - 1				£72 155. 4d.		£753 35. 4d.			Incomplete		£231 175. 8d.		Incomplete	1014	S 0 1 33. 41

his fears of 'the rapine of those villains who, as I am well informed, have been long gaping to take the Tythes of this mannor of her [the Countess], hoping you would be evicted'. He foresaw a dismal prospect of oppressions by the Burlington agents who would have the Farnley tithes, fully supported, if unjustly, by the countess. ⁵⁹

X

Tithes, it may be concluded, are a way of looking at the parish of Leeds and its weightier inhabitants from a different angle. This review of tithe-holders tends to confirm in broad terms the pattern of social and economic change in seventeenth-century Leeds which earlier studies have shown. After 1629 the proprietors and farmers remain an important external force on the borough, and certainly from the Restoration act in some degree as a unifying influence on the borough and the townships within the parish, if now in part indirectly through the tithe entrepreneurs.

A corollary of the history of tithe-leasing is the grassroots relations, as it were, between the tenants of the Cliffords and Burlingtons in the parish and the tithe-payers from whom they collected the sheaves of corn and the hay. This aspect, which has largely been outside the scope of this article, helps to throw light on social and economic developments within Leeds and the attitudes of the governing élite towards the farmers, small-holders, clothiers and craftsmen of the townships. Researchers looking at individual townships, or at Leeds itself, would find much of interest in the tithe records on this aspect of local history, especially in the disputes the tithes engendered.

The roles of the Cliffords, Burlingtons and their successors, the dukes of Devonshire, as ecclesiastical patrons over three centuries have not, it would seem, been considered by scholars looking at Leeds affairs since the Reformation. They should perhaps be taken more into account granted their roles as both great noble families and tithe-farmers. The surviving records are admittedly rather scanty, but they have not been studied at all systematically, and may well reveal some interesting facts. Equally, the connections between Christ Church and the various parties would repay close study.

⁵⁹ W. E. Preston, 'The Tithes of Farnley: an Eighteenth-Century Dispute', *PTh.S*, XXXIII (1932), 427–46. Cork's officers in 1646 had questioned whether the tithes of Armley and Farnley demesnes and Osmondthorpe hay were not payable in kind (Chatsworth, Londesborough MSS, E/15).

Another perhaps more surprising area of neglect, because of the magnitude of its economic let alone social importance, is the agrarian history of Leeds borough and parish. In 1825 the duke of Devonshire's officers valued tithes in the parish on 468 acres of wheat, 391 acres of oats, 140 acres of barley, with some beans and even rye, not forgetting 400 acres of tithe hay in Potter Newton; a total value of over £580. The parish was therefore still producing much food for the factory workers and the merchant families of the rapidly expanding urban centres. When agrarian change in the parish and individual townships comes to be studied in detail, then tithe records will be a very useful source, perhaps even the easiest to handle. Other surveys, besides the Devonshire one just mentioned, are extant and give periodic overviews of farming which are a useful addition to enclosure awards and the other principal sources for landholding and tillage and pasturage.

The gracious manners of the Augustan Age aristocracy towards tithe tenants continued whilst the town fields were being gobbled up by housing and industry in the early nineteenth century. Twice a year when the duke of Devonshire's agent met the Leeds tenants to collect their rents he stood them a meal afterwards. In June, at the Bowling Green House in Chapeltown, he laid out £2 12s. 6d. for dinner and liquor; in December, he treated them at Croslands Hotel, the dinner costing £1 15s od. This convivial atmosphere was much to be preferred to standing in the porch of the parish church to hand over moneys as in Earl George's time, and a sign of a relationship between farmer and tenants far removed from that of the Elizabethan era when the borough of Leeds was beginning to emerge from the chrysalis of its agrarian past.

60. Curry, L/114/95, f. 1.

⁶¹ Chatsworth, unlisted MS, William Carr's Account.

Walter Farquhar Hook, Vicar of Leeds: his Work for the Church and the Town, 1837–1848

by H. W. Dalton, BA, MA

Ministry to 1837

In March 1837 the trustees of the advowson of the parish of Leeds elected Walter Farquhar Hook (1798-1875) (Plate 1) as the new vicar of Leeds, in succession to the Revd Richard Fawcett (1760–1837), vicar from 1815 and lately deceased. To his new post Hook brought qualities of drive, energy and leadership, the more noticeable by contrast with the failing powers of his predecessor, sinking through age and infirmity before at last succumbing to influenza in January 1837. During Hook's ministry at Leeds he became nationally known as a zealous parish priest, who, in addition to the spiritual ministrations more directly aimed at Church people, used his great position to promote the moral and material welfare of all Leeds inhabitants, but especially the working classes and the poor. The fullest available account of his work is by Hook's son-in-law, W. R. W. Stephens, first published in 1878, a few years after Hook's death,2 but its usefulness is impaired by an absence of source references and too circumspect a treatment of the conflicts and controversies in which a man of Hook's combative nature found himself. Subsequent authors3 have largely contented themselves with abridging and rearranging Stephens's material.

Leeds Intelligencer [hereafter LI], 28 Jan. 1837.

² W. R. W. Stephens, The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook DD FRS, 2 vols (1878).

W. E. Gladstone, Dean Hook: an Address delivered at Hawarden (1879); C. J. Stranks, Dean Hook (1954); F. J. Wood, Four Notable Vicars, (Leeds, 1910); J. Sprittles, 'Dr Walter Farquhar Hook', in Links with Bygone Leeds (P[ublications of the] Th[oresby] S[ociety], LII, 1969), 104–12.

When Hook arrived in Leeds, he had already served a sole curacy at Whippingham in the Isle of Wight (1821-26), and had been the perpetual curate of Moseley, Birmingham (1826-28), where his incumbent status enabled him to accept an additional appointment as lecturer at St Philip's, Birmingham, subordinate to its rector yet offering greater ministerial scope than Moseley. He divided his time between the two places, but employed a curate at Moseley to ensure continuity of pastoral supervision. In both localities he maintained a vigorous and appreciated ministry, and was greatly missed when in December 1828 he departed to become vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, having applied to the Lord Chancellor for the living at the earnest request of some of its parishioners.4 In his new post Hook found ample scope for the exercise of his talents, concerning himself with improvements in worship, including the installation of gaslight to permit Sunday evening services, which soon attracted congregations of nearly two thousand people. Under his encouragement the Sunday schools at Coventry progressed rapidly, from 120 in 1829 to 1,200 in 1837. Hook's concern for the moral and social betterment of his parishioners extended beyond church members. At Coventry his position gave him sufficient standing to obtain support for his suggestions for helping the working classes. In 1830 he started a dispensary for the poor, which eventually employed three surgeons on the strength of self-supporting pennya-week contributions of 13,000 members. A savings bank was established in 1834, which proved of lasting value. To fill the scanty leisure time of the poor, Hook instituted a Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, providing classes, periodical lectures, a library, and a reading-room.

Hook was one of a 'succession' (not yet a school or party) of clerical and lay Anglicans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries holding a 'High' view of church doctrine. They were entirely convinced of the catholicity of the Anglican Church and of its divinely authorised ministry through the unbroken apostolic succession of its bishops. In the Church of England, they believed the primitive faith to be held in its purity, freed from medieval accretions at the Reformation, while at the same time avoiding the unauthorised interpretations of continental Reformers. This 'succession' of High Churchmen was nourished in the early decades

⁴ Stephens, I, 116-28, 161.

⁵ Stephens, I, 169-70, 176-83.

⁶ Stephens, I, 142; F. W. Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century* A History of the English Church, VIII (1910), Pt I, 64–76.

of the nineteenth century by the clerics and laymen of the so-called 'Hackney Phalanx' (the High Church equivalent of the better known Clapham Evangelicals), and fostered in the University of Oxford by dons such as Professor Charles Lloyd(1784–1829) and Henry Phillpotts (1778–1869), both of whom became bishops. Such influences, in F. W. Cornish's words, opened a door which could not be shut, preparing the ground in the universities and the parishes for reception of the doctrines of High Church catholicity by ever widening circles of clergy, laity, and ordinands.⁷

Of Hook's place within this 'succession' we know that after his ordination in 1821 he staved at Oxford for a while, to attend Lloyd's divinity lectures before taking priest's orders in 1822, and, whilst a deacon, had preached a visitation sermon before his diocesan, Bishop Tomline of Winchester, arguing that, regardless of its Established status, the Church of England possessed its own ecclesiastical standing, by virtue of its continuing catholicity through the Reformation and its apostolical succession of ministry. This sermon Hook thought of sufficient importance, as expressing his lifelong views, to deserve inclusion in the select number to be preserved in a posthumous collection.8 From June 1824 to October 1826 Hook undertook a strenuous course of theological reading in Church history, doctrine, and apologetics, planned by himself. Stephens and C. J. Stranks both supply the list of authorities and the plan of reading, which emphasised patristics and Reformation studies. It was wide indeed, but gave no place to contrary opinions. To that extent it served, therefore, to confirm views already formed, and perhaps accentuated an already existing tendency to dogmatic pronouncements.9 Indeed, Hook's firmly held conviction of the Church of England as an Apostolic and Catholic Church, containing the three ecclesiastical orders of bishops, priests and deacons, never wavered; it was basic to his entire ministry, and never more so than during the earlier half of his vicariate of Leeds.

The New Vicar, the Town, and the Anglican Parish
Since the seventeenth century, almost all the vicars of Leeds had been men with local connections. After the Revd Richard Fawcett's

⁷ Cornish, pp. 74–75.

⁸ Stephens, I, 50, 52, 63, 67–68; W. F. Hook, 'The Peculiar Character of the Church of England, independently of its connection with the State', in *The Church and its Ordinances*, ed. W. Hook, 2 vols (1876), I, 1–13 and Preface.

⁹ Stephens, I, 62-66; Stranks, p.24 and Appendix, pp.118-19.

death¹⁰ it became clear that the usual arrangements would no longer obtain. The *Leeds Mercury* reported a strong desire among Church people for a vicar of decided piety and talent,¹¹ and among trustees of the advowson, as patrons of the living, for a clergyman of eminence to be the spiritual head, as the *Mercury* termed it, of 'this great and populous parish'.¹² The *Leeds Intelligencer* indicated the desire of others who wanted a man of experience and success in the ministry, who could defend the Church;¹³ it published a letter urging the appointment of an Evangelical clergyman.¹⁴ The editors of the *Mercury*, convinced Independents, hoped for someone of conciliatory disposition, with a friendly and respectful regard for Christians of other denominations.¹⁵

The already well-known Samuel Wilberforce, later bishop of Oxford, declined consideration on health grounds, 16 as a result of which one of the trustees, Robert Hall, recollected the glowing account of Hook's work which he had recently heard from Mrs William Page Wood, the wife of Hook's oldest friend from schooldays at Winchester. 17 Hall verified Mrs Wood's account by a personal visit to Coventry, followed by negotiations for Hook's candidacy. 18 It was a well-kept secret. Hook's name did not appear publicly until 2 March. 19 On 12 March, six trustees turned up at Coventry, and were heartened, Hook thought, by what they saw. 20 In Leeds, the visit supposedly occasioned great alarm to some of the best men in the Church party.21 Shortly before the election, a memorial to the trustees declared that Hook's appointment would be a public calamity. Citing Hook's remonstrance in 1830 to the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then his diocesan, for co-operating with sectarians, 22 the memorial declared that Hook's doctrines and ecclesiastical exclusiveness would be divisive for the Church and irritating to Dissenters.23 A counter-memorial the following day tacitly favoured Hook.24

```
    LI, 28 Jan. 1837.
    Leeds Mercury [herafter LM], 4 Feb. 1837
    LM, 4 Feb. 1837.
    LI, 11 Feb. 1837.
    LI, 25 Feb. 1837.
    LM, 4 Feb. 1837.
    D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends (1966), p.243.
    Stephens, I, 295, 337–68.
    Stephens, I, 296.
    LI, 4 Mar. 1837.
    Stephens, I, 300–01.
    LM, 18 Mar. 1837.
    Stephens, I, 184–87.
    LI, 18 Mar. 1837; LM, 18 Mar. 1837.
```

²⁴ Stephens, I, 316; LM, 18 Mar. 1837.

On 20 March, when the twenty-three available trustees attended at the parish church vestry for the election, sixteen voted for Hook, giving him a decisive majority against all other candidates.25 Disclaiming any desire to prejudice parishioners, the Mercury saw the trustees' choice as a political and religious expression of 'party' by Tory High Churchmen of the old close Corporation, abolished in 1835.26

Hook's new parish was crowded and unhealthy. Housing and sanitation were appalling except for the comfortably placed, even though Leeds was one of the half-dozen major towns in England, and, in Bishop Longley's eyes, 'the most important cure in the diocese of Ripon'.27 At the latest census (1831) the population numbered 123,500, a fourfold increase since 1775.28 The Leeds section of James Smith of Deanston's report of 1845 to the Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, the more telling for its unemotional baldness, indicates the condition of the town in Hook's first decade there. By far the most unhealthy localities of Leeds, according to Smith, were the close squares of houses, or yards, 29 breeding grounds for typhus in 1847, and cholera in 1832 and 1849.30 The parish church in Kirkgate was in such a neighbourhood,31 near the Boot and Shoe Yard, where there had been an outbreak of typhus in 1837.32 The notorious Wellington Yard with 773 people crammed into sixty-seven houses suffered the worst overcrowding.33 Many of the town's ninety-eight houses of ill-fame were situated near the parish church.34 To contagion, overcrowding and vice were added the discomfort and mortality from increasing smoke35 and the gritty black furnace ashes with which the parsimonious highway authorities insisted on surfacing the streets, instead of gravel.³⁶

```
<sup>25</sup> LI, 25 Mar. 1837; Stephens, I, 316–17.
```

^{26.} LM, 25 Mar. 1837.

^{27.} Stephens, I, 332.

²⁸ C. J. Morgan, 'Demographic Change, 1771-1911', in A History of Modern Leeds, ed. D. Fraser (Manchester, 1980) pp.47-48.

^{29.} LM, 24 May 1845, 7 June 1845.

^{30.} LM, 16 Jan. 1847; LI, 24 Apr. 1847; Stephens, II, 222-23, 261-62. Morgan, in Fraser (ed.) p.64.

^{31.} M. Beresford 'The Face of Leeds, 1780–1914', in Fraser (ed.), map, p.75.

^{32.} *LI*, 30 Sept. 1837.

^{33.} LI, 17 July. 1841.

³⁴ LM, 2 Nov. 1839; LM, 5 Dec. 1840.

^{35.} LI, 22 Sep. 1838.

³⁶. LI, 9 Nov. 1844, 4 Jan. 1845.

The Church in Leeds was weak; Protestant Dissent was strong. Dissenters possessed twenty-seven chapels in the central township of Leeds, compared to eight churches. They were deemed twice as numerous as Anglicans in the central township, which was the most populous part of the borough.³⁷ Many people, however, eschewed all religion. For the township, the *Mercury* estimated that there would be 60,000 persons of worshipping age, of whom 40,000 went near neither church nor chapel.³⁸ In the face of these unpromising circumstances Hook nevertheless allowed himself to be considered for election, because he had been informed there was no Church feeling, no Catholic feeling in that part of the country. 'People there do not know what the Catholic Church is', he wrote to his wife, and declared that if he might be honoured to introduce Catholicism in Leeds, as he had done at Coventry, he would feel that he had not lived entirely in vain.³⁹

In his first sermon at Leeds, with the parish church literally crammed, Hook was as good as his word. On 16 April 1837 he introduced his concept of Catholicism to the congregation present by saying that he would compare all the doctrines he advanced with those universally received in the primitive ages. Although subscribing heartily to what he termed the grand Protestant doctrine, that Holy Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation, he pointed out the value of tradition in elucidating Scripture, and the supremacy of Scripture as the test of tradition. Hook declared further that he would demonstrate how commission and authority, from Jesus Christ himself, had descended unbroken through the Apostles to the present Anglican bishops. 40 He indicated a 'High' view of the efficacy of the sacraments, when declaring his conviction that regeneration occurred at baptism and that by frequent communion the congregation would be strengthened and supported in their spiritual life. He indicated his preference for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) on the grounds that they were under episcopal superintendence. Whilst he wished to be friends with the Dissenters, he could not join with them in religious matters, though he would willingly do so elsewhere, and he would never make distinction of person in almsgiving.41 The sermon was an

³⁷·LM, 4 Mar. 1837.

^{38.} LM, 29 Dec. 1838.

^{39.} Stephens, I, 298.

^{40.} LM, 22 Apr. 1837; Stephens, I, 320.

^{41.} LM, 22 Apr. 1837.

unmistakable declaration of principle, well in line with the *Mercury*'s first announcement after the election that the new vicar ranked among the highest of the High Church.⁴² Hook himself regarded his inaugural sermon as a complete failure. Not so his senior trustee, Henry Hall, who persuaded him to have it printed.⁴³ The *Intelligencer* felt that the new vicar had already made a strong and favourable impression on his parishioners⁴⁴ – a terse if cordial comment from the editor, Robert Perring, one of the memorialists against Hook,⁴⁵ perhaps reflecting a degree of residual umbrage. Perring however soon came to admire Hook greatly.

On 20 May 1837 Hook received his doctorate in Divinity from Oxford University, and the title by which he became best known. 46 He was settled in the vicarage with his family by early July. 47 Hook's incumbency would now be spent amongst three very different categories of people: the Anglicans, whose admiration sometimes verged on adulation; the working classes, largely apathetic to religion; and those politically and spiritually hostile.

Rebuilding the Parish Church of St Peter at Leeds

Church people soon recognised a hard and enthusiastic worker. In the *Intelligencer*'s view, within a few months the vicar had won golden opinions though these were not shared by the Protestant Dissenters then frequently elected as churchwardens. Bishop Longley (Plate 2) was soon describing Hook to the parishioners as their 'talented and beloved Vicar'. Apart from diehard Evangelicals, exhilaration seized all the local Anglican fold. St Peter's church was filled every Sunday, with people standing and late-comers turned away, so that the shortcomings of the edifice for seating and liturgical worship soon became all too apparent (Plates 3(a) and 4).

In October 1837 Hook received an address from at least 600 parishioners about these deficiencies, requesting him to call a meeting to discuss the church's enlargement. 50 On 8 November

^{42.} LM, 25 Mar. 1837.

^{43.} Stephens, I, 334-35.

⁴⁴ *LI*, 22 Apr. 1837.

^{45.} LI, 18 Mar. 1837.

^{46.} LM, 3 June 1837.

^{47.} Stephens, I, 369.

^{48.} LI, 7 Oct. 1837.

^{49.} LI, 21 Oct. 1837.

^{50.} The Seven Sermons preached at the Consecration and Re-opening of the Parish Church, Leeds, with an Introduction (Leeds, 1841), p.vi; LI, 21 Oct. 1837.



Plate I Walter Farquhar Hook, DD (1798–1875), vicar of Leeds, 1837–59. Engraving by F. Holl from a drawing by George Richmond [n.d].

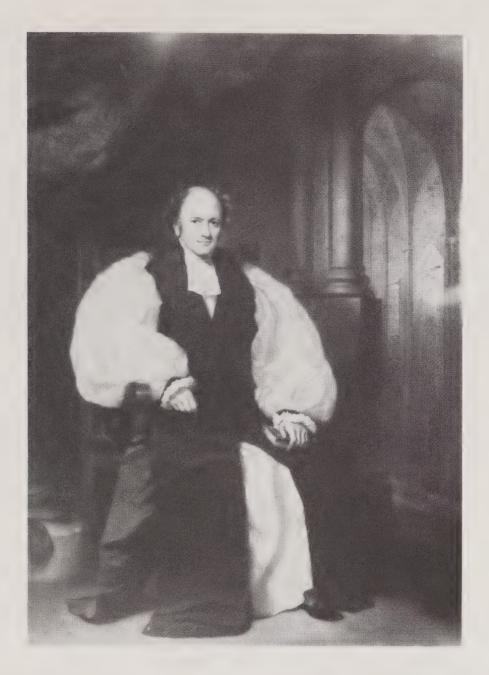


Plate 2 Charles Thomas Longley (1794–1868), first bishop of Ripon, 1836–56. Engraving by James Faed from a portrait by Francis Grant presented to the see by the nobility, clergy and gentry of the diocese, 1850.

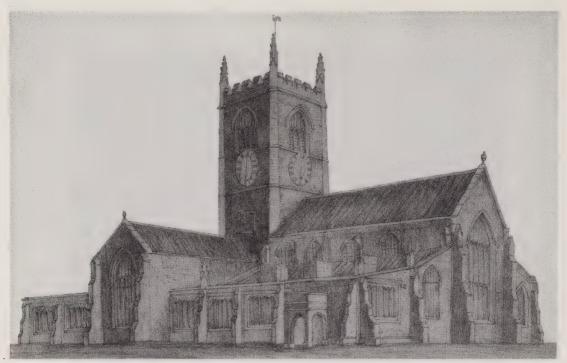


Plate 3 (a) Old Parish Church, Leeds, from the north-west, before the demolition, March 1838.



Plate 3 (b) Parish Church, Leeds, from the north-east (R. D. Chantrell, Architect). Drawing by W. Richardson; lithograph by G. Hawkins, 1841.

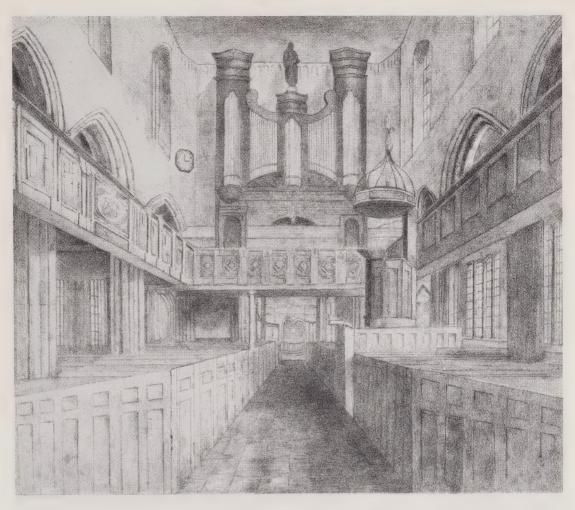


Plate 4 Old Parish Church, Leeds: interior before the alterations, March 1838.

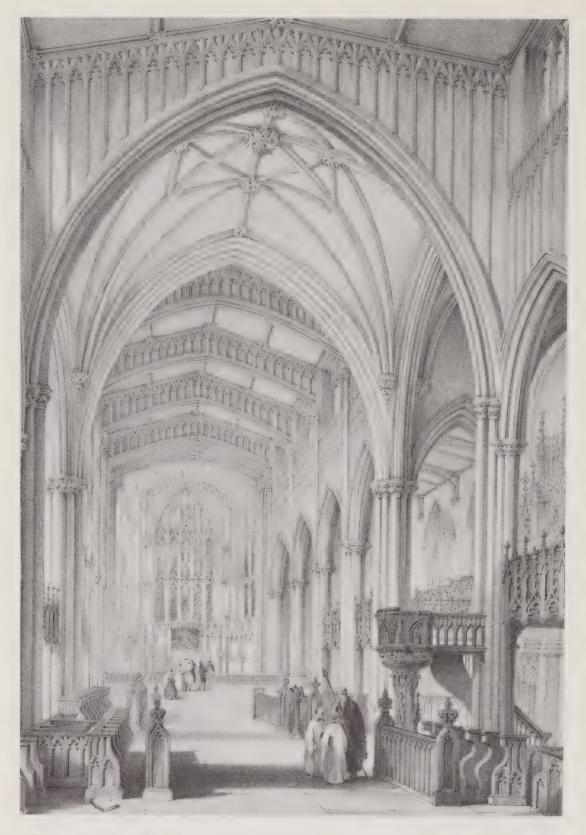


Plate 5 Parish Church, Leeds: interior looking east (R. D. Chantrell, Architect). Drawing by W. Richardson; lithograph by G. Hawkins, 1841. Dedicated by the publisher to the Revd Walter Farquhar Hook.

Hook raised the ensuing meeting to the height of enthusiasm as he unfolded a plan for 1,200 additional seats. Reminding his audience that the Church of England was emphatically the church of the poor, he announced that 700 of these additional seats would be free. 51 In no uncertain terms he laid upon the assembled gathering their obligations as Churchmen. When the subscription list was discussed, one of the leading laymen revealed what Hook had not mentioned, that the vicar's subscription of £200 headed the list. There were similar amounts from the manufacturer Benjamin Gott and the banker Christopher Beckett. 52 By the following week the list totalled more than £5,000 and a faculty for the alterations had been requested. 53 Some of the most touching gifts were from the poor: pence from 'begging-cards';54 a parcel left in the church, containing twelve shillings;55 many contributions of half-a-crown or a shilling or less;56 a whip-round by over seventy self-described 'Hands, employed at Messrs Hives and Atkinson's Works', 57 and by nearly thirty workmen in the employ of Mr Benjamin Russell, Builder. 58

The plans by the local architect, Robert Denis Chantrell, excited much interest. ⁵⁹ In March 1838 'An Old Inhabitant', nearly fifty years in the congregation, told the *Mercury* that he did not want 'our venerable church to be patched up for the purpose of introducing the popish appendage of a Lady Chapel or baptistery'. Asserting that it was for the subscribers to determine whether the vicar's crooked bantling was to be palmed upon the town, he declared that what he wished for was a regular, beautiful *Protestant* Church. ⁶⁰ (He probably had in mind the elegant, classically regular Holy Trinity church, erected in Boar Lane in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.) An indignant riposte appeared in next week's *Intelligencer* from 'Dionysius', indicating that what was planned would be a new church, with the original south wall alone retained, the remainder being razed to the foundations. ⁶¹ The architectural knowledge of

^{51.} Stephens, I, 381; *LI*, 11 Nov. 1837; cf. *LM*, 11 Nov. 1837.

^{52.} LI, 11 Nov. 1837.

^{53.} LI, 18 Nov. 1837.

⁵⁴ W. F. Hook, The Duty of English Churchmen, and the Progress of the Church in Leeds (1851), p.20.

^{55.} LI, 18 Nov. 1837.

⁵⁶. LI, 25 Nov. 1837.

⁵⁷ LI, 9 Dec. 1837.

^{58.} *LI*, 16 Dec. 1837.

^{59.} LI, 11 Nov. 1837.

^{60.} *LM*, 3 Mar. 1838. 61. *LI*, 10 Mar. 1838.

the writer and the pseudonym – the Latin form of Chantrell's middle name – suggest it was he who replied. Later in 1838 it was disclosed that a virtually new church had been necessary because of the unsoundness of the original foundations, the old walls, the roof, and other timbers. ⁶² The architect was instructed to design a building in which the liturgy and ritual of the Church of England might be performed with solemnity and grandeur. ⁶³ On 4 March 1838 the centuries–old church went out on a high note; not only were all the pews occupied, but the aisles were literally blocked. ⁶⁴

Over the next three years the rebuilding progressed, with the cost being met by voluntary donations. A graceful contribution came on the Queen's Coronation Day in June 1838, when the Unitarian Mayor, Thomas William Tottie, with the gold chain and cocked hat of mayoral office, went in procession to St John's to subscribe a sum of money towards the rebuilding, as proof of his desire to

support the Church Establishment. 65

Consecration Ceremonies and Regular Worship at the Parish Church The cost of the new church had mounted to £28,000 by the day of consecration, Thursday, 2 September 1841, when several thousand pounds were still owing.66 In pristine beauty, the new parish church awaited its people; the Intelligencer considered it 'one of the finest, if not the finest, in the kingdom. . . the tout ensemble brilliant . . . truly an honour to Leeds'. 67 Because the rebuilding had been financed by voluntary donations, the Mercury magnanimously declared the new church to be 'a monument to the honourable zeal and liberality of Dr Hook and his friends'.68 For Hook, the handsome building expressed his doctrine in visual terms, as 'a kind of standing sermon, saying to people, See how Churchmen love and honour their God, come hither and worship in the beauty of holiness!' (Plate 3(b) and 5). 69 The consecration itself was celebrated with great splendour. Clergy arrived from far and wide;70 the bishop of Ross and Argyll came from Scotland; the bishop of New Jersey from across the

^{62.} Stephens, I, 379; LM, 30 Nov. 1839.

^{63.} W. F. Hook, The Three Reformations: Lutheran – Roman – Anglican (1847), p.72.

^{64.} LI, 10 Mar. 1838.

^{65.} LM, 16 June 1838, 30 June 1838.

^{66.} LM, 4 Sept. 1841.

^{67.} LI, 4 Sept. 1841.

^{68.} LM, 4 Sept. 1841.

^{69.} Stephens, I, 382.

^{70.} Seven Sermons, List, pp.lxii-lxxii.

Atlantic. In the presence of the aged archbishop of York, the bishop of Ripon consecrated the new building, witnessed by 250 surpliced clergymen 'wearing the badges of their College degrees'.71 The bond of union between the English, Scottish, and American branches of the reformed Catholic Church thus became a reality to a vast congregation. As if to reinforce the visual message, Dr George Washington Doane, bishop of New Jersey, pronounced in his consecration sermon 'a flaming eulogy on the Parent Church, her Bishops, and her Ministers, exhibiting himself an ardent supporter of claims to apostolical succession and primitive conformity'.72 On the day of consecration a special treat was provided for the distressed poor. At the request and expense of the vicar and subscribers, Mr Taylor, butcher, of Fleet Street, Leeds, distributed 5,000 lbs of meat on presentation of a ticket which, to avoid congestion, specified the time of collection of up to 8 lbs according to the size of family. The butcher himself provided the meat at cost price to enable a greater number of poor to share in the rejoicing. 73

Celebration services continued on Friday and Sunday. The vicar himself preached on Friday morning.74 His text, 'The palace is not for man, but for the LORD God, '75 indicates the theme, but he treated the Old Dispensation as the starting point from which to expound the New. 'The kingdom of Christ exists,' he said, 'in His Holy Catholic Church, which has been most wonderfully preserved and miraculously handed down to us.' Not unnaturally, in Hook's eyes, 'the purest portion of the kingdom' found itself in the Church of England and those Catholic Churches which are reformed on her model.⁷⁶ The congregations at all the services were overflowing. On the afternoon of Sunday, their day of rest, the crowded congregation consisted almost entirely of the poor. There is pathos in the amount of the collection, £11 16s, from several thousand people; pennies, halfpennies; what they had, they gave. 77 The vicar never forgot any of the contributions of the working classes to the rebuilding.78

A new peal of thirteen bells had been installed, tuned on an entirely new principle which rendered the first eight bells a true and

^{71.} Seven Sermons, pp. xxx, xxxi, lxii; LM, 4 Sept. 1841.

^{72.} LM, 4 Sept. 1841.

^{73.} LI, 28 Aug. 1841, 11 Sept. 1841.

^{74.} Seven Sermons, pp.61-106.

^{75.} I Chronicles 29: 1.

⁷⁶ Seven Sermons, pp. 78, 84.

^{77.} Seven Sermons, pp.xliv-xlv.

^{78.} LI, 31 Aug. 1844.

distinct peal in themselves.79 Such was the interest, that a crowded throng welcomed their arrival from the railway, by ringing a course of Grandsire Cinques on handbells outside the church. 80 When the peal itself was first heard the Mercury reported that in the opinion of competent judges, its tune was not surpassed, if equalled, for sweetness and power in any part of the country. 81 Inside the church painted windows⁸² added richness to the spacious, uncrowded setting for worship; the altar could be seen, the prayers and the preaching could be heard. By the will of the congregation the service was of the Cathedral mode, 83 with the excellent choir, accompanied by the organist, Dr S. S. Wesley, being a subject of frequent remark. In February 1842 the simplicity of the singing and the beauty of the organ accompaniment were commended by a correspondent to the Intelligencer, who observed that great pains must have been taken to bring about this happy change. 84 Later that year, the visiting bishop of Tasmania declared that he had never seen anything to equal the sublime effect of the liturgy of the Church of England as performed in the parish church of Leeds, heightened by the attention, the devotion, and the decorum of the crowded congregation. 85 St Peter's at Leeds became the prototype of ordered beauty in Anglican parochial worship later characteristic of most parish churches.86

The local newspapers, especially the *Intelligencer*, give an illuminating picture of customary services in the earlier half of Hook's incumbency. In 1843 the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered seventy-seven times; divine service performed on 1,095 occasions; and 194 sermons were preached.⁸⁷ Using his experience at Coventry as a basis for the innovation, Hook introduced new aspects to the observance of Lent. From 1838 weekly Lenten addresses became a regular yearly feature.⁸⁸ By 1841, and possibly earlier, Hook himself was preaching every night in Passion

^{79.} LI, 3 Oct. 1840.

^{80.} LM, 30 Jan. 1841.

^{81.} LM, 27 Feb. 1841.

^{82.} LI, 23 May 1840, 6 Feb. 1841; cf. LI, 26 Sept. 1846.

⁸³ W. F. Hook, The Duty of English Churchmen, and the Progress of the Church in Leeds (1851), pp.25–26.

⁸⁴ *LI*, 5 Feb. 1842.

^{85.} LI, 3 Dec. 1842.

^{86.} J. Le Patourel, 'Medieval Leeds: Kirkstall Abbey – The Parish Church – The Medieval Borough,' PTh.S, XLVI (1963) 7, 11; LI, 2 July 1859.

^{87.} LI, 20 Jan. 1844.

^{88.} Stephens, I, 170–71; *LM*, 24 Feb. 1838; *LM*, 27 Feb. 1841; *LI*, 24 Feb. 1844, 1 Feb. 1845, 21 Feb. 1846, 13 Feb. 1847.

Week, ⁸⁹ adding in 1845 a course on the seven penitential psalms on Sunday evenings. ⁹⁰ During 1846 and 1847 there were services four times daily and sermons every evening except Saturday, the sermons in 1847 being based on the Saviour's miracles. ⁹¹ To emphasise the ascetic aspect of the season, various parochial clergy in 1848 provided a series of sermons on prayer, meditation, fasting, and other principles of religious discipline. ⁹² In thus expanding the pattern of Lent observance, Hook gave a powerful boost to its adoption in

other parts of England.

During these years St Peter's served for the most public and the most private of occasions. The church was still the centre for confirmations within the borough of Leeds. Bishop Longley officiated there at normally three-year intervals from 1837.93 Before the confirmations of 1843 and 1846 Hook gave a special course of eight evening sermons for candidates in which he included such topics as 'the purpose for which we are brought into the world', and 'the assistance we have received in working out our salvation'.94 At the other end of the scale, Hook told a meeting of subscribers to the rebuilding of St Peter's that, as vicar, he rejoiced to find it so frequently used by many persons, for prayer and meditation, on every day of the week, especially by young men. It was for this purpose that the new church was built, he declared, as well as for crowded congregations. Showing that broad humanity and knowledge of humble lives which was his strength, he added that they all knew how many there were who possessed no private apartment at home where they could commune with their hearts and be still.95

Preaching and Teaching, and Pastoral Involvement

Appointment as vicar of Leeds, combined with already existing renown as a preacher, made Hook in demand elsewhere and enabled him to spread his ideas in person over a wide area. Excluding visits to district churches in the parish of Leeds. the *Intelligencer* reports at least forty such engagements up to 1848. In 1838 and 1839, early in his incumbency, Hook visited most of the big towns of the

^{89.} *LI*, 3 Apr. 1841.

^{90.} *LI*, 15 Mar. 1845.

⁹¹ *LI*, 21 Feb. 1846, 11 Apr. 1846, 13 Feb. 1847.

^{92.} LI, 11 Mar. 1848.

^{93.} LM, 21 Oct. 1837, 3 Oct. 1840; LI, 9 Sept. 1843, 26 Sept. 1846, 7 Oct. 1848.

^{94.} LI, 2 Sept. 1843, 19 Sept. 1846.

^{95.} LI, 31 Aug. 1844.

north: York, Wakefield, Bradford, Liverpool, Huddersfield, and Manchester. 96 Later, he preached at Bath, Nottingham, Coventry, Gloucester and Hull. 97 He used these opportunities to promote causes dear to his heart: Sunday schools; Church societies such as the SPCK, the SPG, and, for the education of the poor, the National Society. At Sheffield, however, he was warned off. Its Evangelical vicar told two assistant clergy planning to invite Hook to their churches that his presence would not be welcome in the parish of Sheffield, not for any personal reasons, but solely on the grounds of his being a High Churchman.98 Paradoxically, the most direct knowledge of Hook's voice and pulpit manner comes from people who heard him only occasionally. The writers of 'Railway Rambles round Manchester' recorded that his voice was of great compass. full, clear, and round;99 the Gloucester Chronicle characterised his style by its clearness, and power of putting his points in a striking light. 100 The Nottingham Journal singled out his affectionate earnestness, 101 whilst the Liverpool Albion, in a very full account, noted his staid quietness and propriety of demeanour. 102 Since Hook himself regarded the liturgy as more important than preaching, the Mercury's description, at the start of his incumbency, of his style of reading the prayers and liturgy as admirable, and of himself as incomparably the best reader that ever occupied the pulpit of the parish church, cannot have been unpleasing. 103

When vicar of Leeds, Hook never preached the same sermon twice, though he re-worked similar themes, altering introductions and endings, ¹⁰⁴ as even in the famous sermon 'Hear the Church', ¹⁰⁵ when he reminded the young Queen Victoria, in 1838, of the Church's intrinsic independence of the State. ¹⁰⁶ Of the pastoral sermons which entranced Leeds parishioners, only seventeen out of two thousand remain, ¹⁰⁷ but they exhibit great learning, lightly worn and easily assimilated. In unconscious self-revelation, Hook

```
96. LI, 8 Sept. 1838, 22 Sept. 1838, 20 Apr. 1839, 22 June 1839, 23 Nov. 1839.
97. LI, 15 Feb. 1840, 17 Sept. 1842, 11 May 1844, 6 Dec. 1845, 13 Dec. 1845.
98. LI, 13 Mar. 1841.
99. LI, 14 Oct. 1843.
100. LI, 6 Dec. 1845.
101. LI, 17 Sept. 1842.
102. LI, 29 Jun. 1839.
103. LM, 22 Apr. 1837.
104. W. Hook (ed.) Parish Sermons (of W. F. Hook DD, FRS) (1879), pp. vi–vii.
105. Stephens, I, 425; LM, 3 Nov. 1838.
```

¹⁰⁶. W. F. Hook, Dr Hook's Sermon preached before the Queen, in the Chapel Royal, on the 17th of June, 1838. 'Hear the Church' – verbatim & literatim (Wigan, 1838).

¹⁰⁷. W. Hook (ed.) Parish Sermons, p. viii.

declared in one sermon that the happiest man is 'not the possessor of millions, but the healthy man who, in early and middle age, is zealously pursuing his calling in life'. Later in the sermon, he cautioned his hearers, 'But remember this, while we pray we must labour. We pray for the harvest, but we must at the same time sow the seed. '108

Hook perceived the clergy's teaching role as didactic, and customarily presented his own case in full, with minimal reference to differing views. Hence, he excelled as a preacher, as a pamphleteer, or as the speaker at congenial public meetings, making points with clarity and force. If, however, the audience included opponents, his

capacity could diminish markedly.

As its self-appointed 'mastiff', Hook's main objective was always to uphold the Church of England as 'the purest and best Reformed Church in Christendom'. 109 For this, his reading in theology and Church history had certainly equipped him well, but in the process had given him so powerful a sense of the rightness of his own convictions that, when he indulged in controversy, his attacks on different views contrived to offend many in the wide spectrum of Anglican opinion, such as the Evangelicals, the Broad Churchmen, and the Tractarians. 110 During his first decade or so at Leeds, Hook seemed at his most provocative. 'Hear the Church' aroused admiration and outcry, reaching forty editions in England and America, independently of newspaper and magazine publication. III In the 1840s he supported Newman against widespread antitractarian criticism of Tract 90, yet defended the Anglican-Lutheran Jerusalem bishopric proposal against Tractarian attacks. 112 In the dedication of his sermon Mutual Forbearance (1843), Hook made an almost ostentatious show of support for Pusey, the Tractarian leader, recently condemned by the Oxford Hebdomadal Board for a sermon on the Eucharist. 113 In his defence of the Church Hook's favourite method was to attack the doctrines currently thought dangerous, especially those of the Roman Catholic Church. In the 1840s sermons multiplied, on such subjects as eucharistic doctrine, the invocation of saints, Mariolatry, and auricular confession,

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 137.

^{109.} W. F. Hook The Non-entity of Romish Saints and the Inanity of Romish Ordinances

¹¹⁰ N. Yates, Leeds and the Oxford Movement, (PTh.S, LV, 1975), 18, 27.

^{111.} LI, 22 Dec. 1838, 5 Jan. 1839.

^{112.} Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church; Part One, 1829-1859 (1987), p.191; Stephens, II, 63-67, 104-5; LM, 24 Apr. 1841.

¹¹³ W. F. Hook, Mutual Forbearance Recommended in Things Indifferent (1843).

especially after the Anglican secessions to Rome at Oxford, Leeds and elsewhere. From the middle of the decade their purpose was clearly to halt 'the straggle Romewards,' and to disarm criticism that Hook's own Catholic teaching had pointed others, if not actually himself, in that direction. Engagement in controversy of this type probably brought Hook as much grief and heartache as satisfaction, but at this time in his life it was seldom in his nature not to enter the lists.

It was in the cure of souls that Hook came into his own. For him, parishioners were not transients in a professional career, but people whom, as at Coventry, he hoped to see again in heaven, 'where those who meet, meet to part no more'. 114 At Leeds he expressed similar hopes in the early years of his ministry there, probably at other times, but certainly at its close. 115 Leading parishioners, such as the trustees Henry and Robert Hall, often became great personal friends, 116 but much of Hook's pastoral work took him to the very poor. One reader of the Intelligencer in 1841 described the vicar's labours as 'indefatigable in the worst part of the town, such as York Road and the Bank, where not many great, not many rich are found'. Equally, it was generally known early in the vicar's time at Leeds that he was ready to receive the poor every morning at ten o'clock. In 1845, so that his ministry could reach some very temporary working-class parishioners, Hook even seems to have hired a school-room to enable him to preach on Sundays 'to the Navigators working on the new line of railroad between Leeds and Bradford'. 117 Parishioners also became acquainted with their vicar, if only by sight, as he walked in the central streets of the still compact town; a well-known figure with his kindly but formidably plain visage and his shambling gait. 118 Hook himself wanted to secure the involvement which comes when pastor and people work together for some common objective. In the Gospel sense, he was a man of many talents, and in his dealings with people they multiplied. At meetings of Church societies and on less formal occasions his warmth of personality and zeal were very evident, for there could then be a mutual interchange in a way not possible during a church service.

^{114.} Stephens, I, 324.

^{115.} LI, 30 Mar. 1839, 2 July 1859.

¹¹⁶ S. Brooke, 'Some Notes on the Hall Family of Stumperlow and Leeds,' *PTh.S*, XLI (1954), 345.

^{117.} LI, 27 Mar. 1841, 31 Oct. 1840, 10 May 1845.

^{118.} Stephens, I, v; Stranks, p.48.

Hook's support of Church societies was selective. In 1841 he set down in a pamphlet the principles he had followed since the 1820s. Referring to undenominational religious societies, he declared in strong words that to expect Christian unity from 'an unholy and unhallowed mixture of the orthodox with the heretics' would be as wild and vain as looking for gold 'in the crucible of the alchymist'. Such views by definition excluded support for the undenominational British and Foreign Bible Society, or the Religious Tract Society. He also regarded certain important Church societies founded by Evangelicals as paying insufficient regard in their rules to episcopal and diocesan authority, and would neither countenance nor support them. 119 These included the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and the Church Pastoral Aid Society. As soon as the CMS changed its rules in 1841, however, Hook felt himself able to become a member of the Leeds Association, but took no active part in its proceedings. 120 When vicar of Leeds, Hook reserved his consistent support for the SPCK, the SPG, and after its foundation in 1837, the Additional Curates' Society, as having due regard for episcopal authority. What he undertook for the SPCK and SPG he did supremely well.

Late in Fawcett's incumbency, the SPCK had received a tremendous fillip when Dr Longley as diocesan agreed to preside at the annual meeting of the Leeds District in December 1836, and to become its patron. Whereas previous meetings had sometimes been attended by no more than five persons, the annual meeting of 1836 was well attended. 121 Hook built splendidly on this foundation. Over the winter of 1837–38, crowded meetings heard of the vicar's plan for dividing Leeds into twelve SPCK districts, each with two depositories for books and tracts, and two visitors for every thousand inhabitants, who were to call on individuals of all classes. 122 At the annual meeting in 1838, with the bishop present, the Revd William Sinclair of St George's, Leeds, explained that the work would be organised by district meetings, each presided over by an ordained minister. During the same meeting, Hook explained to the audience that he regarded the Society as exercising a kind of universal cure and assistance to the clergy. With some optimism, he declared that its books and tracts could even be distributed to the scoffer or the

W. F. Hook, Scriptural Principles as Applicable to Religious Societies (1841), pp.4, 5, 9–12; Stephens, I, 110–12.

¹²⁰ Eugene Stock, A History of the Church Missionary Society, 3 vols (1899), I, 389-95; LM, 28 Aug. 1841.

¹²¹ LI, 24 Dec. 1836, 3 Apr. 1841.

^{122.} LI, 23 Dec. 1837, 6 Jan. 1838, 3 Mar. 1838.

mocker through the cracks and crevices of their doors, that they might be converted and live. 123 Success came beyond the most sanguine expectations. From that time onwards the SPCK continued in a lively way. In 1843 Hook made it known that its visitors in St Peter's Bank District had materially aided the clergy in increasing the Sunday school attendance from one scholar, seven years ago, to more than one thousand. 124 The sheer number of helpers which the vicar and his assistant clergy inspired is impressive: committee members, visitors, tract distributors - and, not least, those who attended SPCK meetings in such numbers. The campaign constituted an Anglican attempt at evangelisation new to Leeds and worked wonders for parish morale. In 1840 Hook could say at a Vicarage District SPCK meeting that there were now many persons in Leeds who seemed to glory in the name of Churchmen. 125 For the SPG, events fell out very similarly. In October 1839 hundreds of persons were unable to obtain admission to the evening annual meeting, because the room filled so quickly; whilst in 1842 the Music Hall was crowded to excess in every corner for the visiting bishop of Tasmania, who modestly accounted it as proof of the parishioners' regard for their vicar. 126 To the Additional Curates' Society, as fully 'orthodox' in aims and procedure, Hook subscribed £20 annually from its inception, securing wider support when in February 1841 he organised a large and influential meeting at which the collection for the Society's funds exceeded £162 - an unprecedented sum for such an occasion. 127

At meetings of all three societies Hook disclosed some of his most deeply held values, especially perhaps his intense pride in the English Church and the English nation, and the divinely appointed mission of both to the world. He was not afraid, however, to criticise the actions of the State. At a meeting of the Additional Curates' Society in 1841, for example, he reminded his audience that Church endowments came from the piety of individuals and not from the State, which had taken from the Church rather than given. ¹²⁸ Some of Hook's most telling indictments, at home or overseas missionary meetings, concerned the already vast imperial possessions of the United Kingdom, whose actions in relation to the colonies he saw as continually under the divine judgement. Privilege and success

¹²³ *LI*, 10 Feb. 1838.

¹²⁴·LI, 30 Mar. 1839, 25 Nov. 1843.

^{125.} LI, 20 June 1840.

^{126.} LI, 19 Oct. 1839, 3 Dec. 1942.

^{127.} Chadwick, I, 449; LI, 13 May 1837, 6 Feb. 1841.

^{128.} LI, 6 Feb. 1841.

were ours inasmuch as God had seen that we were a wise and understanding people, a religious people. In the British Empire, where the sun never sets, the scope for SPG missions was therefore world-wide, yet it was the Providence of God which had opened the door wherever our colonies had been established. Hook cautioned against the idea that the Colonies were there merely for material exploitation. God had not given us power to tread down our enemies merely to increase the wealth of our merchants or to swell our national grandeur, he remarked very early in his time at Leeds. The British in India were there for a more exalted purpose, he insisted in 1840, which was to make the Church in India more efficient, 'so that, if our nation shall be cast out, there shall still be there the Church of Christ existing, I hope under native Bishops'. 129 In his efforts to further the world-wide mission of the Church, Hook made a most interesting proposal in 1842 when he suggested that colonial bishops should select catechists and missionaries, after suitable training, from his friends of the working classes, since those among the working classes who sought the cultivation of their minds were often better informed on theological subjects than the wealthier classes. 130 Minds cannot be cultivated unless bodies are nourished, and the physical needs of the working classes were never far from Hook's thoughts. He gave constant encouragement to the Leeds Church District Visiting Society by publicly appealing for funds and encouraging friends to aid its continual task of relieving material distress. Aid was given usually from its own resources, but, on occasions of severe privation, the Society co-operated with the long-established Benevolent, or Stranger's Friend, Society, organised by the Dissenters, in administering general relief funds raised by the town and on occasion in organising a soup kitchen. 131

Day and Sunday Schools, and the Church of England Library
The development of Church schools in Leeds gave a sense of purpose
and community within the Anglican fold. According to Stephens,
the total number of schools increased during Hook's incumbency
from three in 1837, when he arrived, to thirty at his departure in
1859. The very large school attached to St Matthew's, Holbeck,
for example, held 600 children, and in 1840 supplied a much needed

^{129.} LI, 21 Oct. 1837, 28 Sept. 1839, 4 Apr. 1840.

^{130.} LI, 3 Dec. 1842.

¹³¹. LI, 3 Mar. 1838, 4 Jan. 1840, 5 Feb. 1848, 15 Apr. 1848.

^{132.} Stephens, II, 392.

want in the populous township. With its handsome frontage of cut stone it formed an ornamental addition to the township's buildings, at a cost of about £1,000.133 Apart from Government aid and contributions from the National Society, there were many local initiatives to raise funds for Church schools. Generous donors like the banker and MP for the borough, William Beckett, would sometimes provide a site for a school. 134 A donation of £1,000 from the estate of his deceased brother Christopher, for educational purposes, was administered by a committee of three leading clergymen, comprising Hook, Sinclair and the incumbent of St Mark's, Woodhouse, the Revd James Fawcett, with the result that eleven schools could be improved to a standard qualifying for the State aid available under the Committee of Council's Minutes of 1846. 135 For his school at St John the Baptist's, New Wortley, the incumbent and his curate despatched 22,000 letters soliciting funds. 136 The Queen Dowager with her usual liberality sent £20 for church and school funds in this very destitute district. She also consented to become the patron of a bazaar which raised £800 for the schools and church of St Matthew's, Little London. 137 Messrs Marshall, the flax spinners, erected and supported highly regarded schools at Little Holbeck. 138 The purpose of all this activity was to educate and benefit poor children, with the devout hope also for their continuing Church membership. Nor were such children forgotten at the substantial teas which accompanied school openings and anniversaries. 139

At a meeting of 14 March 1839 to form a Local Board of Education, Hook also commented on the need for an inexpensive Commercial School. Within two months, a school opened with five pupils and a curriculum of modern subjects, taught on the monitorial system. The intention was to prepare the male children of tradesmen, mechanics, and others for a useful and respectable station in society. Though the sons of Dissenters were not excluded, it was intimated that they would be expected to attend compulsory instruction in the catechism and in Church principles. 140

^{133.} *LI*, 4 July. 1840.

¹³⁴ LI, 3 Apr. 1847.

^{135.} LI, 22 May 1847; LM, 13 May 1848.

¹³⁶. LM, 18 Nov. 1848.

¹³⁷ LI, 8 Apr. 1848, 29 Apr. 1848.

¹³⁸ *LI*, 13 Nov. 1847.

^{139.} LI, 10 Apr. 1847, 1 Jan. 1848, 19 Feb. 1848, 29 Apr. 1848.

¹⁴⁰ W. F. Hook, A Short Account of the Plan and Operations of the Leeds Church of England Commercial or Middle School, (Leeds, [c.1843]), pp.2–4; LI, 16 Mar. 1839, 13 Apr. 1839, 27 Apr. 1839.

Integral to nineteenth-century religious life was the contribution of the Sunday schools. Evangelical Churchmen at St George's provided children with a very full day. Pupils attended church twice every Lord's Day. In the morning, the full service was read and a sermon preached; in the afternoon, prayers were read, after which the remainder of the afternoon was devoted to catechetical instruction and exhortation. Nearly 200 children attended, and, so great was the number of applications for admission, had there been teachers, another school equally as large could have been filled. 141 For the young of all Sunday schools, the annual Whit Monday procession, with the added treat of tea and cakes to follow, formed the year's highlight. It was Hook's practice to visit the festivities and meetings in the parochial Sunday schools, usually in the evening. 142 In 1847, with the spread of the railway network, one of the first Sunday school excursions from Leeds to the Yorkshire coast is recorded. With fares and refreshments for sixty workhouse children paid for by two or three tradesmen, nearly 2,000 children were accompanied to Scarborough by train. 143

In the 1840s the Leeds Church Sunday School Teachers' Association was formed. As President, Hook used its annual festivals as an opportunity to foster good principles in those in a position to influence others. Some of these principles may be inferred from the decoration of the hall in which the first soirée was held in 1844. Among the Union Jacks and Blue Ensigns were banners inscribed with such maxims as 'The Altar, the Throne and the Cottage', 'Church and Queen', 'Church and State', 'Persevere and Prosper'. In Hook's speech he reminded the company that they were there to declare their zeal in the cause of education of all classes of the people, and their devotion to the cause of the 'good old Church'. He then urged a united effort for more, and better, education for all classes. 144 As at Coventry, Hook established for his parish, from 1839, a Church of England Library of Religious and General Literature, but on a more ambitious scale. District libraries were also formed, and the Library's Committee appealed for books to amuse and instruct. Regular lectures were instituted to extend horizons. The series of lectures for the session 1844-45 included aspects of ecclesiastical history and biography, but also a variety of scientific topics, and

^{141.} LI, 17 Nov. 1838.

^{142.} LI, 13 June 1840.

^{143.} LI, 4 Sept. 1847.

^{144.} LI, 20 Jan. 1844.

attracted special commendation. 145 By 1845, now known more briefly as the Leeds Church Institution, between two and three hundred persons were receiving instruction in 'every department of useful learning' at newly inaugurated evening classes. 146 Some lack of financial support for the Church Institution had emerged by 1847, apparently relieved by different subscription procedures, and by the vicar who had come forward in the most handsome manner with financial assistance. 147 A similar institution was founded in 1845 by the Revd William Sinclair of St George's, for the educational and social benefit of its members. Named the 'St George's, St Andrew's and St Philip's Reunion', it was modelled by Sinclair on the annual reunions of Old Wykehamists and gave young persons above seventeen years of age, who had formerly been either teachers or scholars in these closely associated church districts, the opportunity to meet their former associates in activities which would aid the cultivation of their moral and intellectual faculties. 148 As members they had access to a school library containing 800 volumes of useful, instructive, and entertaining works. 149 For 9 November 1847, we possess a delightful vignette of an evening, by universal concurrence, 'agreeably and profitably' spent. By this date, serving Sunday school teachers were also attending. The meeting seems to have been much concerned with preparing young people for the changes and chances of this mortal life. Sinclair gave an address redolent with interest and encouragement. The Revd Benjamin Crosthwaite of St Andrew's gave an affecting description of the closing days of the late Archbishop Vernon Harcourt of York, before his call 'from works to rewards', in his ninety-first year. Despite the venerable prelate's great age, Crosthwaite enlarged upon the uncertainty of our continuance here. Another speaker took the opportunity to vindicate the manufacturers of the town from the charge of neglecting the spiritual condition of the people. Yet another gave sound advice on the 'right improvement of time'. 150 Together, these three organisations fulfilled an educational and cultural need which Hook and Sinclair had perceived for serious-minded young people at the stage between schooldays and the responsibilities of adult life.

¹⁴⁵·*LI*, 19 Jan. 1839, 27 Apr. 1839, 29 June 1844, 12 Apr. 1845.

^{146.} LI, 4 Oct. 1845.

^{147.} LI, 30 Oct. 1847.

^{148.} LI, 31 May 1845, 14 June 1845.

^{149.} LI, 25 Oct. 1845.

^{150.} LI, 13 Nov. 1847.

Division of the Parish and Church Extension

One of the difficulties which faced many parish priests in the north of England in the nineteenth century was the enormous size of some parishes which had been scantily populated when their boundaries had been fixed but which through the progress of industrialisation were now densely peopled. The parish of Leeds, apart from small enclaves formed by the recently created district parishes of Kirkstall and Woodhouse, comprised an irregularly shaped area exceeding seven miles from east to west and approaching seven miles from north to south. 151 For this parochial area, the vicar of Leeds possessed entire pastoral responsibility. At varying distances from the parish church of St Peter eight district chapelries existed, served by curates whose ministerial functions were restricted by statute, since 'rites of passage' were reserved to parish churches. In 1836, for example, the Revd Richard Fawcett, then vicar, and his two assistant clergy conducted 3,087 baptisms, 1,372 marriages, and 1,558 burials, in addition, of course, to the services and sermons required for Sundays and other prescribed occasions. 152 Obviously, little pastoral oversight could be given to the parish beyond the necessity for attending to the regularly recurring obligatory duties towards parishioners. After Hook's arrival, he secured additional assistant clergy through generous aid from the Additional Curates' Society, but even by May 1838, when the parish church possessed five or six curates, the system of parochial oversight was still strained. 153

From 1837 onwards, Hook was giving increasing thought to producing a local scheme for more efficient pastoral oversight within the parochial bounds. Before this occurred, however, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, secured in 1843 the enactment of a statute for England and Wales which became of crucial importance for the entire Church in facilitating the sub-division of large parishes. Known at the time as the Church Endowment Act, or Peel's Act, it empowered the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to provide stipends for individual clergymen appointed to minister to specified localities within populous parishes requiring more spiritual care than was currently available. The unique feature of Peel's Act was that a stipendiary minister could be appointed before a church building existed. Since 'Peel Districts' became parishes in their own right

G. C. F. Forster, 'The Foundations: from the earliest times to c.1700', in Fraser (ed.) p.251; (ed.) p.3, map.

^{152.} LI, 7 Jan. 1837.

^{153.} Stephens, II, 19; *LI*, 1 Dec. 1838.

when certain conditions, including the consecration of the new district church, had been met, a tremendous stimulus to building

new churches was provided.

Under this Act, Bishop Longley intended to take vigorous action in respect of Leeds by forming 'Peel Districts'. Hook immediately saw that the ministers of the ancient chapelries would be placed in an invidious position, since the new legislation did not provide for either endowments or parishes in such instances. 154 On 19 January 1844, therefore, he issued a pastoral letter to his parishioners, proposing a division of the parish. A meeting of the parish clergy also approved Hook's plan as likely to increase parochial efficiency. 155 Equally important, the proposed scheme also received approbation in the highest circles, including the diocesan, the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the Prime Minister. This did not of course affect the Mercury's view of Hook's proposals as 'the most enormous Church Extension and Clergy multiplication that has ever been thought of in England'. 156 Later, the Mercury voiced other fierce objections, but, once it was known that no new burden of Church rates could be imposed, the newspaper then declared that Dissenters in the parish need no longer interfere. 157 The plan appears in full most conveniently perhaps in Stephens's biography, but also in the Intelligencer of 20 January 1844. Its principal stipulations were that district churches could not become parishes until the floor of the church should be free and a parsonage provided. 158 The legislation for dividing the parish received the Royal Assent on 9 August 1844. 159 In its final form the Leeds Vicarage Act contained two important differences from the original proposals, since Parliament insisted on the vicar of St Peter's retaining four designated advowsons instead of surrendering all fourteen, and specified that 'the nave or nineteentwentieths thereof' was required to be free, rather than the entire floor of the church. Even so, ample room for the poor was still provided – an object dear to Hook's heart. For his own satisfaction, Hook wished for the Act to be implemented as speedily as possible, so that with his own eyes he should see in Leeds 'for every poor man a pastor and for every poor child a school'. 160 Depending upon the precise circumstances in each case, parishes began to be created

¹⁵⁴ R. J. Wood, Church Extension in Leeds, (Leeds, 1964), p. 11.

^{155.} W. F. Hook, A Letter to the Parishioners of Leeds (Leeds, 1844); LI, 20 Jan. 1844.

^{156.} LM, 27 Jan. 1844.

^{157.} LM, 3 Feb. 1844, 15 June 1844, 22 June 1844.

^{158.} Stephens, II, 166-73; LI, 20 Jan. 1844.

^{159.} LI, 17 Aug. 1844.

^{160.} Stephens, II, 170–72; LI, 22 June 1844.

in a gradual process of sub-division, under the provisions of the appropriate Act. The first parish to be so formed was that of St Andrew's, in March 1845, under Peel's Act. ¹⁶¹ St John's, a district church in Leeds township, and St Mary's, Hunslet, an ancient chapelry, on the other hand, became parishes a little later, by complying with the requirements of the Leeds Vicarage Act. These churches were followed by others under whichever statute was relevant. ¹⁶² Thus, Hook's personal jurisdiction diminished in a piecemeal fashion rather than by ordered progression, and for this reason, it would seem, he retained the title of vicar of Leeds. Accordingly, he remained influential, and, when he became Rural Dean of Southern Ainsty in 1847, he again possessed official authority over the Leeds clergy, as the bishop's immediate representative. ¹⁶³

In the thiry years after 1831 the population of Leeds increased by nearly 68 per cent. 164 Many new churches were built to meet the need, and others rebuilt, such as St Michael's, Headingley¹⁶⁵ or, indeed, the parish church itself. Some congregations first met in school-rooms, like St Thomas's, Stanningley, and St Matthew's, Little London. 166 St Andrew's, previously mentioned, had its origin as a memorial to Mrs Helen Sinclair, the deceased wife of the incumbent of St George's, and its consecration in 1845 was a poignant occasion. 167 St Philip's owed its site, and half the cost of its erection, to John Gott, the head of a well-known Leeds firm. 168 Both these churches were situated in working-class areas, previously part of the extensive St George's district. St John's, Little Holbeck, was erected by the Marshall family, near their extensive flax mills. 169 The Beckett family of bankers built Holy Trinity, Meanwood - the village near one of their principal residences. For each of these two churches the founding family provided an endowment for the support of the respective incumbents. 170 All Saints, York Road, had a more chequered career. Less than three months after the foundation stone was laid, the intending donor was received into the Roman

^{161.} LI, 29 Mar. 1845.

¹⁶². LI, 2 Aug. 1845, 20 Dec. 1845, 4 Sept. 1847, 30 Oct. 1847.

^{163.} LI, 17 July 1847, 11 Sept. 1847, 10 June 1848.

¹⁶⁴ Morgan, in Fraser (ed.), pp.47-48.

^{165.} LM, 27 Jan. 1838.

^{166.} LI, 22 Dec. 1838, 3 Oct. 1846.

¹⁶⁷. LM, 29 Oct. 1842, 2 Dec. 1843; LI, 29 Mar. 1845.

¹⁶⁸ LI, 11 Jan. 1845, 9 Oct. 1847.

^{169.} LI, 24 Oct. 1846, 6 Nov. 1847, 13 Nov. 1847; LM, 13 Nov. 1847.

^{170.} LI, 27 May 1848.

Catholic Church and did not proceed with his gift. Subsequently, an incumbent was appointed under Peel's Act, and, with the help of a committee, raised the funds to build a smaller, simpler church than originally planned.¹⁷¹

Doctrinal and Political Controversies

When religious affiliations and political propensities are inextricably interfused, as occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, controversy becomes acerbic. In Leeds, as elsewhere, Anglicans mainly tended to Conservatism, whilst Dissenters mostly supported the Liberals. The ardently Liberal Leeds Mercury, owned and edited by Edward Baines and his family, who were convinced evangelical Independents, seldom interpreted Hook's actions favourably. He was not only too conscious, in their view, of the pre-eminence of the Church of England amongst religious bodies, for its apostolic order of ministry and purity of Catholic doctrine, but also far too adept in proclaiming this conviction. Hook had been doing so for ten years before the Oxford Movement, eventually led by Dr Pusey, began to make this stance more widely known from 1833 onwards. The Mercury, though allowing that Hook's temper was mild and his manners courteous, opined in 1837 that no man went so far as Dr Hook in bigoted devotion to his own Church, or was so incapable of comprehending how the Church of Christ could mean anything but the Church of England. 172 Two years later, at Liverpool, Hook described the Book of Common Prayer as the only work which preserved the primitive tradition of Christianity, since it contained the doctrines universally received by the Church. 'A choice morceau of the theology of the Pusevites,' cried the Mercury, as it denounced such convictions as wild, shameful and monstrous nonsense. 173

The Mercury not infrequently cast doubts on Hook's Anglican loyalties. For his stance in defending Newman in 1841 over Tract 90, it decried Hook's principles as 'wholly Romish'. Later, when Anglican secessions were increasing, it deemed him well qualified to join the pilgrims to Rome. Shortly afterwards, however, it decided that there were several shades of Romanisers, and that Hookites were more distant cousins than Puseyites or

¹⁷¹ LI, 24 Oct. 1846, 31 Oct. 1846, 9 Jan. 1847, 7 Oct. 1848, 10 Nov. 1849, 2 Nov. 1850, 9 Nov. 1850; LM, 2 Jan. 1847.

¹⁷². LM, 23 Dec. 1837.

¹⁷³·LM, 29 June 1839.

Blomfieldites.¹⁷⁴ On the issue of 'Romanising', or beliefs held by some English Churchmen about the nature of the Church and its ministry, the *Mercury*'s attitude was curious. It deprecated these beliefs, and criticised strongly those who held them. Towards the Roman Catholic church, which promulgated similar beliefs, it distinguished between the beliefs, which it still deprecated, though not stridently, and the ecclesiastical organisation, to which it was invariably respectful.

Sometimes the Mercury would inflate personal issues by publishing information that had been insufficiently checked. In 1838, for example, it rejoiced rather prematurely in reporting the unfounded rumour that Hook had been dismissed from his post as Queen's Chaplain, when nothing of the sort had occurred. On another occasion, it tried to make mischief between the High Church vicar of Leeds and a leading Evangelical clergyman in his parish over a technical question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by virulent abuse of the vicar's actions. That faithful Anglican guardian, the staunchly Conservative Intelligencer, leapt to Hook's defence. It stigmatised its 'truth loving contemporary' as so anxious to assail the vicar that the editor even stopped his press to force the injurious slander into circulation. 175 These examples are merely a few out of many. Hook himself felt keenly what he termed 'the pitiless pelting of a profligate Whig press', but wrote in 1843 that he would never contradict the Mercury's falsehoods, its character being so well known. After this statement in the Intelligencer, the Mercury's editor repeatedly sought clarification from Hook, who refused to discuss the matter further. 176

The Mercury's attitude can be seen as arising from a mixture of doctrinal and political motives, with the former predominating. Another strand in opposition to the Church arose from its privileged position as the Established Church of England, and its official connection with the State. Since the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, Dissenters had become increasingly confident in mounting political agitation to remove their remaining 'grievances', or less favourable treatment in numerous spheres as compared with Anglicans. When political Dissenters controlled a parish or municipal organisation they were in a strong position, since they held the power of action. The prime grievance in the Dissenting stronghold of Leeds was the capacity of the Church to

¹⁷⁴ LM, 24 Apr. 1841, 9 Nov. 1844, 23 Nov. 1844; Tract XC of Tracts for the Times.

¹⁷⁵ LM, 1 Sept. 1838, 8 Sept. 1838, 23 Feb. 1839, 2 Mar. 1839; LI, 2 Mar. 1839, 9 Mar. 1839.

¹⁷⁶ *LI*, 18 Apr. 1838, 29 Apr. 1843; *LM*, 6 May 1843, 7 Oct. 1843.

levy rates for the upkeep of the parish church. For the Church to obtain a rate, however, it was necessary for the churchwardens to propose a poundage, which in turn must be approved by parishioners at a vestry meeting. One unusual feature about the Leeds churchwardens, as compared with most parishes, is that there was one for each of the eight wards in the central township. At the usual vestry meeting in Easter week, the vicar appointed the churchwarden for the Kirkgate ward, in which the parish church was situated; and at the same meeting the seven others were elected by popular vote. Since the late 1820s, the Liberal Reform element, usually Dissenters, had constituted a majority of the parish's eight churchwardens. At first they secured office on a policy of reducing Church rates, but in the 1830s, by the time Hook arrived, they had completely prevented their imposition. 177 In 1837 the election occurred shortly after the announcement of Hook's appointment and before he had taken up residence in Leeds. Edward Baines, junior, had ensured a vestry meeting packed in the Liberals' favour, and, by virtue of the vicar's absence, sought vehemently but unsuccessfully to nominate the vicar's warden. A protest was entered in the minute book by Baines, and a counter-protest subsequently by Robert Perring, editor of the Leeds Intelligencer. 178 Baines's candidates were nevertheless successful on this occasion and for some years to come. The attempt to obtain Anglican churchwardens faltered, and in 1839 and 1841 neither election occupied more than ten minutes. 179 Such easy victories perhaps bred over-confidence, for when the Chartists proposed a list of candidates in 1842, as a move in their campaign to secure elected office, the Liberals were ousted. 180 From 1842 to 1846, inclusive, the Chartist candidates were elected annually. 181 By 1847, however, and unknown to Hook, the Conservatives had planned a counter-attack, for, in addition to the Chartist list of candidates, the Conservatives offered an Anglican list of their own. On a show of hands, possibly also with the help of members of the Leeds Operative Conservative Society, the Conservative list was elected by a majority of two to one of the parishioners at the meeting. The Chartist leader demanded a poll which the vicar as chairman said he was very ready to grant, provided a guarantee for the expenses - several thousand pounds - was received by four o'clock that day from those requiring

^{177.} LM, 14 Oct. 1837. See also Derek Fraser 'The Leeds Churchwardens, 1828–1850', PTh.S, LIII (1973), for further details.

¹⁷⁸. *LI*, 1 Apr. 1837; *LM*, 1 Apr. 1837.

¹⁷⁹ *LM*, 21 Apr. 1838, 25 Apr. 1840, 17 Apr. 1841; *LI*, 6 Apr. 1839.

¹⁸⁰. *LM*, 2 Apr. 1842.

¹⁸¹. *LI*, 22 Apr. 1843, *LM*, 13 Apr. 1844, 29 Mar. 1845, 18 Apr. 1846.

a poll. No guarantee was subsequently forthcoming, and the Anglican churchwardens again entered into office at the parish church. ¹⁸² Not unexpectedly, in 1848 Chartists as well as Conservatives were ready for the contest. It would seem that Conservative supporters were well to the fore when the vestry door was opened. Certainly they were sufficient in number and voice to prevent a motion for adjournment to a larger place of meeting from being carried. Amidst considerable disorder, the vicar proceeded with the election, but said that if, after the election, any person thought fit to demand a poll, the meeting would then be adjourned. In the event, the Conservative list was carried and no one requested a poll, again no doubt because of the expense. ¹⁸³

The vicar's relations with his Liberal churchwardens can have been little more than formal, since their attitude was a compound of resentment towards the Established Church and disapproval of Hook's principles. In August 1837 they proposed a rate of $\frac{1}{2}d$. in the pound, to meet church expenses of £355 11s. 6d. They may well have done so to give the vicar first-hand knowledge of the local opposition to Church rates. At a meeting attended by over 2,000 parishioners, an amendment for an adjournment 'to this day twelve months' was overwhelmingly carried, thus preventing further action. W. R. W. Stephens, as Hook's principal biographer, was either misinformed or permitted himself overmuch devotion to his subject when he indicated that the rate was passed, though it is true that a vote of thanks to the vicar as chairman was unanimously approved. 184 Disputes also occurred about the Dissenting churchwardens' lack of provision for new surplices and service books, the disposal of the consecrated wine unconsumed after the communion service, and their habit of meeting in the vestry during service time. 185 Probably there were other occasions of obstruction and friction but perhaps these will suffice as examples. With the advent of Chartist churchwardens in 1842, these strains disappeared. Though elected to prevent any propositions for Church rates, they were co-operative in all other respects. After their first year in office, Hook declared that they were the only churchwardens encountered since his arrival in Leeds whom he could describe as honourable, straightforward, and gentlemanly - a remark much resented by their predecessors, but repeated the following year. When the

¹⁸². LI, 10 Apr. 1847.

¹⁸³·LI, 29 Apr. 1848; LM, 29 Apr. 1848.

¹⁸⁴ Stephens, I, 377; *LI*, 19 Aug. 1837; *LM*, 19 Aug. 1837.

¹⁸⁵ Stephens, I, 374–75; LI, 7 Oct. 1837; LM, 14 Oct. 1837.

Chartists left office in 1847 Hook presented two of their number each with a handsome quarto Bible, as testimony of their satisfactory discharge of duty and a token of esteem from himself and the assistant clergy. 186

In 1843, the Leeds Mercury generated tremendous Dissenting opposition nationally against Sir James Graham's inclusion of clauses in the draft Factory Bill which would have secured Anglican predominance in the organisation of proposed schools in factory districts if the Bill became law. To embarrass the Church in general, and Hook in particular, Edward Baines, junior, the journal's joint editor, alleged complicity between the vicar and the factory inspector Robert J. Saunders, who had been responsible for preliminary enquiries before the draft bill appeared. This accusation Hook denied strongly. When Baines eventually cited a private letter from Hook to Saunders which had found its way irregularly into his possession, Saunders charged him with participating in a dishonourable transaction. 187 Baines could never fully exonerate himself from the part he had played in this attempt to discredit the vicar. 188 In his attempt to present Hook in a bad light he had misused his position as an editor, and in the process blemished his own reputation.

When political Dissenters controlled an elected body, they possessed the potential to give effect to their political principles. The need for a new burial ground for the township of Leeds provides a remarkable illustration. The main place of interment, to which all parishioners were entitled, was the parochial burial ground. Early in 1841 it came to light that the Quarry Hill ground had become so crowded that on their own initiative grave-diggers had adopted the reprehensible practice of removing bodies of the recently interred to partly filled graves elsewhere. The vicar was impelled to announce in the press that these facts were unknown to himself or his clergy, and that those concerned had been disciplined. As Anglican apologist, the Intelligencer placed the blame squarely on the 'Whig-Radical' churchwardens, nominated by Edward Baines, junior; when informed of the problem, they had refused to consider requests for funds to purchase more land. Later that year their hands were forced, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners required the churchwardens to call a vestry meeting at which, on 17 December, they proposed a Church rate of 11d. in the pound to provide the necessary funds. An influential Dissenter, James Richardson,

^{186.} LM, 22 Apr. 1843, 29 Apr. 1843, 13 Apr. 1844; LI, 17 Apr. 1847.

¹⁸⁷. LI, 7 Oct. 1843; LM, 7 Oct. 1843, 21 Oct. 1843.

¹⁸⁸. LI, 7 Oct. 1843, 28 Oct. 1843, 11 Nov. 1843, LM, 4 Nov. 1843.

immediately proposed an amendment refusing to grant a Church rate for the purpose, which received overwhelming support. 189

The Church authorities could have resorted to further legal measures to secure a rate. Instead, the vicar agreed to cede his legal rights in any new parochial burial ground, and he and the bishop co-operated with the Town Council in obtaining the Leeds Burial Ground Act (1842), under the provisions of which the Leeds Municipal Cemetery opened in Beckett Street in 1844, consisting of episcopally consecrated ground for Anglicans and an unconsecrated portion of similar size for those preferring other burial rites. For the vicar's surrender of income from the parochial ground, for which closure was envisaged, the Act provided as compensation the fee for each Anglican interment which he would otherwise have received. 190 With some misgivings, the Council in September 1844 adopted the same scale of fees for the consecrated and the unconsecrated ground. However, within six months it imposed an additional shilling for every interment in the consecrated ground to cover the statutory reimbursement required against clerical loss of income. 191 Charges were much higher in any case than the fees at the parochial grounds, effectively deterring interments of Dissenters as well as Anglicans, who both continued to use the parochial ground, with all its limitations.

In August 1846 Alderman Darnton Lupton, a respected Unitarian who considered that on this issue the Church had not been fairly dealt with, elicited at a Council meeting that since the opening of the municipal cemetery there had been thirty-five interments in the consecrated ground and eighty-five in the unconsecrated. Another speaker described the additional impost for Anglicans as a species of religious persecution. He also pointed out, perhaps more significantly, that the total of £50 in fees received in sixteen months represented a poor return on £11,199 expended by the Council on the cemetery's construction, and £215 for salaries. On the question of 'interring the sacred dead', he hoped there would soon be an opportunity for rejoicing that there was parity for Anglican and Dissenter alike. When these figures are considered in relation to a total for 1843 of 2,316 interments in Anglican and Dissenters' grounds, the scale of under-usage is apparent. ¹⁹²

^{189.} LI, 23 Jan. 1841, 18 Dec. 1841; LM, 30 Jan. 1841, 18 Dec. 1841.

¹⁹⁰ *LI*, 19 Feb. 1842, 11 June 1842, 2 July 1842, 9 July 1842. 16 July 1842, 30 July 1842, 2 Oct. 1847.

¹⁹¹ LI, 7 Sept. 1844, 30 Nov. 1844, 1 Mar. 1845.

^{192.} LI, 23 Nov. 1844, 15 Aug. 1846.

On 1 October 1847, the Council eventually equalised the charges. In the meantime, some gentlemen had approached the vicar with a memorial urging a composition of the vicar's fees, to which Hook had replied at length, pointing out that much income had already been surrendered since the ecclesiastical authorities had remitted any fees for those interments now taking place in the unconsecrated ground, for which fees would have been previously payable in the parochial graveyard. Further, the vicar had turned over to the Council the entire income – a considerable amount – from the erection of tombstones and monuments. The main thrust of his letter, however, was to declare with great firmness that this sacrifice of legal rights and income had been rewarded by a discriminatory impost on Anglican interments. The vicar would resist this violation of Anglican consciences by keeping the churchyards open for burials until the tax was removed; if it were not removed, more land for interments would be purchased. He was, however, hopeful that incipient wiser counsels would prevail. When, therefore, Hook's letter came subsequently before the Council for consideration, Alderman Lupton thought it best to let the past be the past and commence de novo. He considered the arguments clearly and cogently presented, and, having met the vicar personally, felt it impossible for any man to display a more self-sacrificing spirit. After discussion the Council then approved a resolution that the additional charge of one shilling in the consecrated ground be no longer made. 193

In return, the Council instituted negotiations for the concurrence of the vicar in an application to the bishop requesting consent to Orders of Council for closing the parochial burial grounds in Leeds and Hunslet, where a parallel situation had arisen. Related aspects of this complicated matter involved the appointment and payment of the Anglican chaplain at the cemetery. The whole affair was finally settled on I January 1850, when the Council agreed to pay the stipend of £80 a year from that date to an ecclesiastically authorised chaplain, and the vicar and clerk in orders each agreed to a commutation of their respective statutory rights for a modest £30 per annum. Of the settlement the *Mercury*'s correspondent, 'A Dissenter', wrote in January 1850 that it was 'as close an approximation to justice and equality as circumstances will admit of'. After a hard fight over the years honours were even. ¹⁹⁴ It had taken all Hook's determination, however, to ensure that Anglican

^{193.} LI, 2 Oct. 1847.

¹⁹⁴ LI, 2 Oct. 1847, 5 Jan. 1850; LM, 5 Jan. 1850.

co-operation in the provision of a municipal cemetery had not resulted in a permanent discriminatory impost on their interments. His special concern in this matter was for the hard-pressed poor.

Within the Church, odium theologicum in doctrinal disputes was at times notably evident. In the spectrum of Anglican belief, Hook's High Churchmanship represented a position somewhere between the Evangelicals and the more extreme Tractarians. His characteristic doctrines, discussed earlier, were little known in Leeds until he arrived. The fact that his 'Church principles' were accepted so generally, and so readily, suggests that they filled a need. To all outward seeming, however, until Hook's arrival, the Church in Leeds had been maintaining the particular beliefs held in common with evangelical Dissenters of the time, especially in respect of the over-riding necessity for personal salvation for the individual Christian, the sufficiency of Scripture as a guide to true belief, and the relative unimportance of everything else. In the Dissenting stronghold which Leeds had become, the Church's way, doctrinally, had proved acceptable to Dissenters, with amicable relations at a personal level and much co-operation in the undenominational religious societies. Nevertheless, until some Church laymen initiated a pioneering scheme in 1836 for church extension - typically Evangelical in its lay leadership - the Church's cause had not been materially advanced.

In the earlier years of Hook's incumbency, meetings of the great Anglican societies furnished the most public evidence of controversy. One strongly Evangelical 'ultra', the Revd Miles Jackson, curate of St Paul's, Leeds, took issue with his vicar in 1838 by publishing Oxford Tracts Unmasked, whose title sufficiently indicates its intent. He also attacked Hook from the pulpit. At the anniversary meeting in 1838 of the Leeds Church Missionary Society of which Jackson was secretary, he used the presentation of the report to censure the doctrines advocated in a pamphlet entitled Letter of a Reformed Catholic, addressed to Dr Hook, with the distinct implication, in the manner of the time, that the recipient shared some community of belief with the author. According to the Mercury, Jackson's remarks were a veritable tirade against what were described as both the errors of Popery and the absurdity of accepting the traditions of the Fathers as conclusive authority in matters of religious belief. The chairman of the meeting, Henry Hall, senior trustee of the Leeds advowson, interpreted Jackson's remarks as a sidewind attack upon the vicar. Aided by the silence of the clergy present, he insisted that these remarks be expunged from the report before printing.

Nevertheless, Jackson's contentious remarks received a much wider circulation from the local press accounts. 195

Hook's attitude to the CMS until 1841 has been mentioned earlier. 196 In the early years of his incumbency at Leeds, therefore, some defence of the Society as a thoroughly 'Church' institution formed an important element of the association's anniversary meetings. In 1839, for instance, Thomas Shaw Bancroft Reade, the chairman on that occasion, demonstrated how the circumstances surrounding the foundation of those venerable Church societies, the SPCK and the SPG, were exactly paralleled for the CMS. The Revd William Sinclair, as chairman the following year, remarked that the fact of the annual meeting taking place under the auspices of the bishop in itself should put an end to the 'idle and silly cavils' with which the CMS was sometimes assailed. For good measure, the Revd Joseph Holmes, headmaster of Leeds Grammar School, declared that the object of the Society was to plant the Church of England overseas in its integrity, with its ministers placed under proper apostolical authority. An institution organised on such principles, and with the approbation of so many overseas bishops, he contended, could not be other than a Church society. 197

Although Hook's attitude to the CMS upset the local association, its reactions were relatively mild, compared with the more stridently Evangelical Church Pastoral Aid Society (CPAS); later events showed that CPAS speakers could indeed strike hard. At a crowded annual meeting of the SPG local association in 1839, with almost all the clergy of Leeds and neighbourhood on the platform, Hook declared that there were some Church of England societies with which he could never act, amongst them the CPAS. Though not mentioned by name, he specified enough about its mode of operations to make his reference plain. 198 At that Society's annual Leeds meeting in 1841, the chairman, the Revd Joseph Holmes (now DD), who was acting in that capacity because of the bishop's inability to attend, remarked that, if he should see a society having the patronage and concurrence of his diocesan, he trusted he would have the good sense as well as the modesty to abstain from any public attack on it. The mood of the meeting was best summed up by the Revd T. Kennion of Harrogate, who declared to loud and

¹⁹⁵ Miles Jackson, Oxford Tracts Unmasked (1838); LI, 28 July 1838; LM, 13 Jan. 1838, 28 July 1838.

^{196.} Above p.47.

¹⁹⁷ LI, 8 June 1839, 30 May 1840.

^{198.} LI, 19 Oct. 1839; LM, 19 Oct. 1839.

vehement cheering that he would never sanction the funds of the CPAS being given 'to a man who preached Popery in a Protestant pulpit, or to a man who could have written No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts'. In Leeds, such pointed allusions to Hook could not be misunderstood. This meeting probably represented the nadir of relations between High Church and Evangelical in Leeds. The bishop's absence had perhaps enabled the speakers to give utterance to long outraged feelings, but it is notable that those who spoke fiercely had come from a distance. Even Dr Holmes's remarks were ironically phrased, rather than vituperative, whilst Sinclair as ever, avoided personalities and confined himself to principles. 199

It proved personally unfortunate for Hook that the anniversary meeting of the Leeds SPCK followed just over a week later, on 31 March 1841, since, in the meantime, the local press had published detailed versions of the proceedings. The Intelligencer had also printed a letter from a self-proclaimed neutral, under the pseudonym, 'No Party Man', asking the laity to rally to the support of the vicar by attending the Society's meeting. On this occasion, however, the bishop presided in person. He declared that the SPCK brought home the same eternal truths of the Gospel (though differently expressed) as those heard from the lips of their talented and devoted vicar, thus paying graceful tribute to the work of both. Shortly afterwards, when Hook rose to move a resolution, a number of young men, many of the operative class, commenced cheering, shouting, clapping their hands, and stamping upon the floor in commendation. The Mercury rather primly compared this fervour to a Chartist meeting; the vicar himself told the archbishop of York's daughter that the cheering had continued for ten minutes. In more restrained language, the Intelligencer corroborated the Mercury's account. Elated, as always, by an enthusiastic reception, Hook began to develop his theme - that of the SPCK as a unifying agent for all shades of Anglican opinion - by declaring that, as there were lamentably now two parties within the Church, he would nail his colours to High Principles, and adhere to them, whatever the prospect. With some effort, the bishop succeeded in restraining Hook's flight of oratory and begged his reverend friend in Christian kindness to confine himself to promoting the object of the meeting. Always respectful to episcopal authority, Hook promptly complied, but, thus deflated, found himself unable to do more than formally propose the resolution entrusted to him.

^{199.} LI, 27 Mar. 1841; LM, 27 Mar. 1841.

Influential Church people present must have been dismayed by the turn of events, because the bishop allowed an emergency resolution of thanks for the vicar's services to the SPCK which was not on the agenda. It was proposed by Henry Skelton, a prominent local supporter, who declared that the vicar's exertions for the Society and for Leeds had not been equalled in any other parish in England. If amidst his trials he had proved himself not only mortal but fallible, who was able to take up a stone and throw it at him? The reference to Christ's teaching was pointed and apt. Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce seconded, claiming to be a member of the same party as Hook - that of Christ's Church on earth. The resolution was passed with acclamation. Thus provided, as it were, with a second chance to speak, Hook again received a vociferously enthusiastic reception. He apologised to the bishop and to the meeting for having unintentionally disturbed the harmony of the proceedings, explaining that, if he had been able to continue, his object was to promote peace.200

After the meeting, as they walked back to the vicarage, Hook offered his resignation to the bishop. In the event, however, he stayed at Leeds another eighteen years until appointed dean of Chichester. Perhaps, however, this disastrous experience made Hook more charitable. By means of a letter, later published, addressed to the bishop with his consent, Hook explained that he had intended at the meeting principally to express his hope that Evangelicals and High Churchmen would contend for the truth as brethren in amicable discussion rather than as foes engaged in a deadly feud. Two years later at Hawarden, he was advocating mutual forbearance in matters where the Church in any case allowed individual discretion.²⁰¹ Happily, quieter times lay ahead for Hook and the Leeds CPAS, perhaps through mutual forbearance.

Hook's 'Church principles' upheld him in doctrinal disagreements and underpinned the moral and legal rectitude of his position in the dispute with the Leeds Town Council. From 1845 to 1851, however, events at St Saviour's, Leeds, probably caused him more grief and heartache than any other controversy he had experienced. The church had been built under Tractarian auspices, the gift of an anonymous donor through Dr Pusey, the movement's leader. The offer of a new church seems to have arisen because Hook, as Pusey's

^{200.} LI, 27 Mar. 1841, 3 Apr. 1841; LM, 3 Apr. 1841; Stephens, II, 73.

²⁰¹. W. F. Hook. Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ripon on the State of Parties in the Church of England (1841); W. F. Hook, Mutual Forbearance Recommended in Things Indifferent (1843); Stephens, II, 72–77.

friend of long standing, had on occasion mentioned to him that a church was badly needed for 'the Bank', one of the dirtiest and poorest parts of Leeds. The church of the Holy Cross was begun in 1842, founded by 'Penitent' to the praise of his Redeemer. Pusey himself was the donor, though the fact was unknown in Hook's lifetime. Nevertheless, speculation early centred on Pusey as being the actual founder. Indeed, developments after the church was built and consecrated may well have persuaded all closely concerned that the precise identity of the donor was best left unascertained.²⁰²

When completed in 1845, the new church was consecrated as St Saviour's because the bishop thought its original name could give rise to misapprehensions. St Saviour's occupied a special place in the history of the Oxford Movement, one of a small number of parishes deliberately planted to proclaim High Church principles, and at the same time to popularise ways of worship then novel in the English Church. Pusey's connection with the new church, as agent for the unknown founder, did not universally commend itself. To comply with the bishop's views, the name was altered as previously mentioned; also the patronage was vested in trustees, rather than in the resident college of clergy intended, and certain visual details connected with the building were altered. A fortnight before the consecration Newman's reception into the Church of Rome revived all the old painful questions about Tractarian doctrines disturbing rather than confirming Anglican loyalties. On the day of consecration, 28 October 1845, twelve Evangelical clergy of Leeds were intentionally conspicuous by their absence. Before the service began, Hook succeeded, at a second attempt, in securing the signatures of perhaps two-thirds of the clergy present to a declaration deploring the Romanising tendency currently evident in a section of the Church. Pusey was among the signatories, but only after the mode of expression had been made less severe. The actual ceremony must have been visually splendid, the beautiful church a noble setting for the crowded congregation, which included 260 clergy in white vestments and coloured hoods. For the sermon, the bishop's text was unusual, to say the least. He cited a passage from Isaiah containing a classic lament for the Divine disappointment engendered when the cherished vineyard of Israel produced wild grapes for the harvesting. At the evening festivities for the poor, Hook was received with three hearty cheers as he went among the 500

^{202.} Stephens, II, 190–93; *LI*, 17 Sept. 1842; 21 Oct. 1843; *LM*, 1 Nov. 1845.

assembled for a substantial meal, but the church's future progress gladdened his heart no more. 203

The first incumbent of St Saviour's, and its vicar from October 1846 when it became an independent parish, was the Revd Richard Ward, formerly one of Hook's 'laborious and indefatigable Curates' until appointed to Christ Church, Skipton in 1840. After leaving Leeds parish church his views had become more extreme and at St Saviour's, especially in the latter part of 1846, he had allowed himself to countenance beliefs and practices then offensive to mainstream Anglicans. The bishop began to be unhappy about Ward's eucharistic doctrine, and equally about the teaching of the Revd Richard Gell Macmullen on the perpetual intercession of the saints. Macmullen was a tough and determined cleric, sent by Pusey from Oxford to assist at St Saviour's though unlicensed by the bishop. During a public lecture at the Church Institution in December 1846 Hook's pointed references to 'Romanisers' within the Church, who were introducing medieval doctrines and ceremonies contrary to its tenets, provoked an outburst by Ward. 204 Macmullen's subsequent inhibition and Hook's lecture, taken together, seem to have precipitated the secessions of Macmullen and two Anglican laymen from St Saviour's to Rome on 1 January 1847. Another person accompanied them: his name was Edward Bruce. Brought up an Independent, grandson of the senior editor of the Mercury and only informally connected with St Saviour's, his action probably enabled the Mercury to scoop the press with the news the following day. Prophetically, the Intelligencer made the comment that what they had done would be more than a nine days' wonder. 205

As vicar of Leeds, though no longer ecclesiastically responsible for St Saviour's, Hook referred to these matters in a sermon delivered at the parish church on 3 January 1847. He informed the congregation that it was in an evil hour that consent was given to an unknown individual to erect the church now known as St Saviour's, but that its affairs seemed satisfactorily conducted until it became a separate parish in the summer of 1846. Unknown clergy arrived there who attacked the Church of England and eulogised the Church of Rome.

²⁰³ Nigel Yates, The Oxford Movement and Parish Life; St Saviour's, Leeds 1839–1929, Borthwick Papers, No, 48, pp.1–3; LI, 18 Oct. 1845, 1 Nov. 1845, 9 Jan. 1847; LM, 18 Oct. 1845, 25 Oct. 1845, 1 Nov. 1845; Isaiah 5:4.

²⁰⁴ LI, 6 June 1840, 10 Oct. 1846, 19 Dec. 1846, 9 Jan. 1847; Yates, Borthwick Papers, No. 48, pp. 7–8; W. F. Hook, *The Three Reformations: Lutheran – Roman – Anglican* (1847) pp. 14, 26, 52, 58–60, 69.

^{205.} LM, 2 Jan. 1847; LI, 9 Jan 1847.

Ward, indeed, had declared at Hook's lecture, and subsequently, that to Hook's 'Church principles' the clergy at St Saviour's intended to stand opposed. Hook had remonstrated with the patrons, headed by Pusey. They informed him that the affairs of St Saviour's were no more his concern than those of a parish in London. Hook could only agree, but replied that when a hornets' nest was planted at his garden gate, he was in duty bound to warn his children. Hook's remarks ended with a statement of his principles and teaching at the parish church, where parishioners learnt the blessings and responsibilities of a Church which was the bulwark not of the Reformation only, but of Catholicism itself. The conflict of view clearly turned on opposing attitudes to the Reformation. Orthodox High Churchmen, like Hook and the bishop, rejoiced in it; advanced Tractarians, like those at St Saviour's, regretted it.²⁰⁶

The circumstances of these secessions received marked attention in the national and local press, and prompted memorials from Evangelical clergy and laity, the latter deprecating a system of doctrine artfully inculcated for some years in Leeds, preparing the way for the adoption of Roman errors. The reference to Hook was unmistakable, but also unfair in view of the esteem in which Hook held the Anglican Reformation. At the bishop's insistence, Ward resigned. This gave opportunity for a fresh start, but, unhappily for the Church of England, the pattern of events at St Saviour's repeated itself, with the appointment of Thomas Minster as vicar in 1848. Many years previously Minster had been connected briefly with Hook as his assistant curate, when both were stationed in the Midlands. By the end of 1848 the elaborate services at St Saviour's attracted unfavourable comment from the faithfully Anglican Intelligencer, which described them as an attempt to force upon the Church of England ceremonies long since discarded and discontinued. Subsequent events are beyond the time span of the present account, but it is perhaps necessary to indicate that, during the next two years, the doctrines and practices of St Saviour's attracted episcopal notice. In December 1850, Bishop Longley made his own investigations, resulting in two curates being inhibited, and Minster deeming it politic to resign. Before the end of 1851, most of St Saviour's serving and former clergy, with a dozen lay people, had made their submission to the Roman Catholic Church. Even now the failure of the Tractarian experiment at St Saviour's remains an ecclesiastical cause célèbre. Hook thought of these proceedings as

^{206.} LM, 9 Jan. 1847; LI, 9 Jan. 1847.

having ruined much of his achievement at Leeds, but the passing years were to prove this view over-pessimistic.²⁰⁷

Political and Social Concerns

Hook's political and social concerns had an impact far beyond the confines of his church congregations. In such matters he encountered the uncommitted, the religious adversary, and the political opponent. His family background lay in 'the strictest and straitest school of Toryism', whose deepest influence for Hook was probably its strain of paternalism – that the rich and powerful owed a duty to the poor, to relieve material hardship and promote social harmony. Landed proprietors usually accepted some degree of obligation to their tenants, but Hook could see that in the industrial districts factory owners were reluctant to recognise similar responsibilities, though he paid public tribute to Marshalls, the famous Leeds manufacturers, as a shining exception. The public causes likely to attract his participation were those which sought to ameliorate working conditions and improve health, or provide better education to enlarge the mind and enlighten the spirit. 208

For many years Hook proclaimed himself a Tory. Though in his parish at Coventry he never involved himself in politics, he described himself to a friend as an obstinate old Tory, when casting his vote at Worcester in the Reform Bill election of 1831. From the 1830s, Hook's great personal admiration for Peel was his strongest tie with the Conservatives. In 1838 he likened Peel to the younger Pitt; though not mentioning him by name, he made a well understood public reference to him as 'the pilot best qualified to weather the storm'. For this reason, perhaps, after Peel had been discarded as the Conservative leader, he told a Leeds public meeting in 1847, amidst cheering, 'I am an old-fashioned Tory'. 209 After Peel's death in 1850, Gladstone filled his place in Hook's esteem, whether as Peelite or Liberal. Apart from moral and intellectual qualities, Gladstone possessed the supreme merit for Hook of being 'a Churchman who loves the Church of England'. Certainly by 1852 Hook's disenchantment with Conservatism as represented by the

²⁰⁷ LI, 30 Jan. 1847; LM, 9 Jan. 1847, 30 Jan. 1847, 6 Feb. 1847, 20 Feb. 1847; Bishop of Ripon (Charles Thomas Longley), A Letter to the Parishioners of St Saviour's, Leeds, by the Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, with an Appendix of Documents (1851), pp.22–29; G. P. Grantham, A History of St Saviour's Leeds (1872), pp.14–16, 26.

^{208.} Stephens, I, 14; *LI*, 13 Nov. 1847.

^{209.} Stephens, I, 219–20; LI, 18 Apr. 1838, 10 Apr. 1847.

short-lived Derby-Disraeli ministry then in office was very evident.²¹⁰

The key to Hook's political and social involvement is in his emphasis on the needs of the whole man. His interest lay in the political arrangements of society, rather than in party politics. At a great Conservative public dinner in support of Peel on 16 April 1838, he defended not only the Church and its right to educate the people, but also declared his determination to uphold those rights and privileges 'to which as an Englishman I am entitled'. Amid a galaxy of noted speakers, Hook made what was remembered as unquestionably the speech of the evening. Even the politically opposed Mercury awarded it a temperately hostile accolade of praise as the most elaborate speech of the occasion. In print, the speech still reads well. The Intelligencer connected reviving Conservatism with resurgent Anglicanism; it considered the overwhelming meeting of 16 April essentially a Church triumph, largely due to the impetus given to Church principles and feelings by the indefatigable efforts of the vicar of Leeds.211 Three years later, the Mercury identified the revival of High Church feeling within the last eight or ten years as one of the reasons for the Conservative majority at the recent General Election. In this election Hook played a prominent part in supporting the Conservative cause, more particularly perhaps as the principal Conservative candidate in Leeds was William Beckett, a local banker and an enthusiastic Churchman. At the Conservative public breakfast on 30 June 1841, prior to the official nominations, Hook's paternalistic Conservatism could not have emerged more unambiguously, for he described the election struggle as fighting 'for the cause of the Queen, the cause of the aristocracy, above all the cause of the poor . . . and the cause of God'. For Hook it was clearly the Queen and the aristocracy's affairs which took second place. Hook's omission of the predominantly Dissenting urban middle classes seems undoubtedly deliberate.212 The years from 1838 to 1841 represented the summit of Hook's overt support of the Conservative party. By 1844, he was saying publicly that his political activities must be directed towards the general benefit, and that he ought not to use his office on behalf of any political party.213 Within Leeds itself, resurgent Anglicanism had more effect politically in parliamentary than municipal elections.

^{210.} Stephens, II, 297, 300.

²¹¹. LI, 18 Apr. 1838, 21 Apr. 1838; LM, 21 Apr. 1838.

²¹². E. D. Steele, 'Imperialism and Leeds Politics, c. 1850–1914', in Fraser (ed.), p. 328. ²¹³. LM, 16 Mar. 1844.

Early in Hook's ministry in Leeds he spoke of his ambition to be regarded as the poor man's friend. On many occasions he consciously lent the weight of his own great office to support working-class causes, joined at different times by various clergymen of the town, especially the Revd William Sinclair, the leading Evangelical clergyman who held very similar social and political views. Sinclair's participation probably brought these causes more general Evangelical support than might otherwise have been the case. Undoubtedly the Ten Hours Movement was the most important cause which Hook adopted. In doing so, he followed the precedent set by his Evangelical predecessor, the Revd Richard Fawcett, in 1832. Hook's own involvement dated from at least November 1843, when with Sinclair and many others he contributed to a fund being raised to secure the release of Richard Oastler, the outstanding advocate of the cause of the factory worker, who for several years had been in prison for debt.214

In the 1840s, the organisers of the Factory Movement arranged vearly campaigns to demonstrate their massive working-class backing. Part of the strategy was to present factual evidence about the disabilities and mortality which long hours of constant, repetitive labour entailed, but to do so in a reasonable and unthreatening manner, without causing public upset or alarm. In this way they hoped to secure the support of the wider community and the politically influential. Such aims and conduct made a special appeal to Hook, as vicar of an industrial parish and devoted as he was to any measures which would improve the quality of life for the working classes. To the Factory Movement, therefore, Hook brought the power of his oratory, the warmth of his heart, the energy of his enthusiasm, and the prestige of his position. His burning speeches, by their powerful rhetoric, could raise vast audiences to the heights, in their struggle for better conditions. These speeches, extensively reported, had a wider than local influence, since, unlike many which are impressive enough when delivered, they retain their impact on the printed pages, and accurately reflect Hook's social philosophy – a desire for harmony based on social justice.

Although the agitation focused on a reduction to ten hours for women and young persons, all concerned knew that, of itself, this would ensure that no factory engines would be kept in operation

²¹⁴ J. T. Ward, 'Leeds and the Factory Reform Movement', *PTh.S.*, XLVI (1963), 87, 107, 112; John Mayhall, *The Annals and History of Leeds*, (Leeds, 1860), p. 384; *LI*, 31 Aug. 1839, 13 June 1840.

for a longer period and that any reduction for those categories would also apply to men. In 1844, Sir James Graham's stipulation in the provisions of his Factory Bill for twelve hours of daily labour for women and young persons attracted Hook's powerful opposition. On 9 March 1844, at a great meeting in Leeds, Hook came forward amidst loud cheers to second a resolution for 'a plain Ten Hours Factory Bill for all ages above thirteen . . .'. To loud and repeated cheering he declared that, if ever a collision should come between the interests of the middle and working classes, he should take sides with the working class - because his first duty was to preach the Gospel to the poor. The working classes, he contended, needed leisure time for mental cultivation and rational enjoyment; it was demoralising to society in general, and a monstrous thing to find families supported by the labour of little children, with the father and mother too tired to give their children parental attention and training.215 He assured his audience that, in thus working for men's happiness, they were promoting God's glory. At a meeting on Easter Monday, 8 April 1844, which included some of the star speakers of the Movement, such as Richard Oastler and Busfield Ferrand MP, Hook was called to the chair. To an audience composed principally of factory labourers he declared, 'Our opponents tell us that the working classes would not be benefited . . . I know the evils which result from the present system, and I know, moreover, that no half-and-half measure will meet or remedy the evil.' It was the business of the ministers of the Church in Leeds to promote the welfare, and increase the happiness, of the working classes and the poor generally. If he were not to oppose the present Government measure, he would be unworthy of his own office. Firing his audience to ever greater enthusiasm, he made his famous declaration: 'Yes, working men, I will go further and say . . . I am ready in this righteous cause to press forward with you to the last gasp . . . let us take the side of humanity, throw humanity into the scale, and then we know how to proceed.' These two Leeds meetings formed part of vet another unsuccessful campaign. Graham's Bill passed, by an unexpectedly large majority, in a Commons overawed by Peel's threat to resign if it failed. 216

By 1846, with nearly the whole of the clergy of Leeds supporting the Factory Movement, Hook was recognised as one of its most powerful advocates. The Leeds Short Time Committee insisted on his presiding at a grand meeting on 12 March, where he was greeted

^{215.} LI, 16 Mar. 1844; LM, 16 Mar. 1844.

²¹⁶. LI, 13 Apr. 1844; J. T. Ward, The Factory Movement, 1830–1855 (1962), p.298.

with an ovation on entry. In his remarks, he made similar points to those mentioned above, but also took the opportunity to remind the audience that the Church belonged to the working classes as well as to the rich.²¹⁷ For the final campaign which led in 1847 to the successful passage of the Ten Hours Bill, Hook presided on 30 November 1846 at a further public rally in Leeds. In the course of his observations, he made a powerful plea for the Government to strike a right balance in legislative measures, declaring that common sense alone required a paternal government to direct its attention, not only to increasing the wealth of the few, but more particularly to increasing the welfare of millions. At this point, the hall rang with cheers.²¹⁸ In an age of restricted franchise, the oratory of the public meeting was one of the means by which those without the

suffrage could seek to influence government policy.

By March 1847, when the cause at last seemed on the eve of victory, the Leeds Short Time Committee expressed their appreciation of Hook's staunch support by sending him a special letter of thanks, from his 'grateful and attached parishioners and servants', to one who had shown himself 'so true a friend to the cause of infant and female factory labourers as you have done'. Hook's services to the Factory Movement were not yet ended. On 13 April 1847 he introduced a deputation from the Yorkshire Central Short Time Committee to Bishop Longley of Ripon who declared himself decidedly in favour of the Bill, though without pledging his support in advance, since this might be considered unconstitutional. The Ten Hours Bill finally passed the Lords on 1 June 1847 and received the Royal Assent a week later. This victory for 'the Magna Charta of the North' proved partial and incomplete. Insufficiently precise wording of the Acts of 1844 and 1847 was found not to preclude the relay system – a type of split shift where, in the arresting phrase of the Manchester Courier, the ten hours' work of young women could be 'taken out in snatches over the whole 24'. The relay system enabled factories to operate for a longer day than the legislation of 1847 intended. As a result, the Intelligencer commented in December 1848 that the Ten Hours Act would become in great measure a dead letter. 219 A further effort was needed. At a meeting in Leeds on 12 March 1850 Hook was in his place with other clergy and ministers in the Court House to demonstrate their continuing

^{217.} LM, 7 Mar. 1846, 14 Mar. 1846.

²¹⁸. LM, 5 Dec. 1846.

²¹⁹ Ward, Factory Movement, pp. 344, 356; LI, 20 Mar. 1847. 17 Apr. 1847, 17 June 1848, 30 Dec. 1848.

support for the movement's aims. This time, the campaign ended in mutual compromise. Though Parliament abolished the relay system, it established a ten-and-a-half-hour day, with seven and a half hours fixed for Saturdays, ending at 2 pm. To finish work four hours earlier on Saturdays must have seemed like a half-day holiday, and it became a valued feature in factory operatives' lives. ²²⁰

Hook's other great social concern was in the field of education. Some objectives could be achieved within the parish, such as the establishment of schools, or supporting the work of the National Society or the Ripon Diocesan Board of Education. He seems to have been the main instigator of the Leeds Church of England Commercial School, providing the acquirements for business and commerce rather than for the learned professions. Founded in 1839, it pursued an intermittently successful career until its closure in 1846. Its fees were aimed to attract the superior artisan or the lower middle classes, but they probably possessed insufficient reserves to meet even the modest charges for their sons' education in the frequent spells of bad trading during the School's brief existence.²²¹ In spite of these useful local endeavours, perhaps Hook's greatest contribution to the cause of education may have been in the suggestions which he made for the State to fund secular education, whilst allowing facilities for the various religious denominations to provide religious education according to their particular doctrinal tenets. He considered that the means of education should be universally available. By 1846, he had decided that the system of voluntary education societies, partially aided by the State, was past improvement. As a result, in 1846 he wrote and published On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People, as a letter to the Bishop of St David's, the Right Revd Connop Thirlwall. Its propositions were stimulating, iconoclastic, and controversial. Hook's letter reviewed educational provision to 1846, making a widely publicised contribution to the educational discussion. Hook was uncomfortably frank; the efforts of the societies had resulted in next to nothing. 'We have lighted a lanthorn which only makes us more aware of the surrounding darkness,' he declared. Even with the pence of the children, masters' salaries often amounted to no more than the wages of a day labourer; no provision was made for the payment of apprenticed pupil-teachers; worst of all, 'we commit the education of the people of England to the wisdom, experience,

^{220.} Ward, Factory Movement, p.378; Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815–1870 (1964 edn.), p.155.

²²¹ LI, 16 Mar. 1839, 13 Apr. 1839, 27 Apr. 1839, 29 June 1839; LM, 7 Nov. 1846.

and discretion of unpaid instructors in the shape of monitors, whose average age is ten years'. With the continually increasing population, the clergyman was never free from building schools, to the detriment of his other duties. The Church would be the gainer for pastoral work if the State relieved the Clergy of these obligations. 222 For Hook, education was a patriotic as well as a Christian necessity. He considered that the experiment of denominational education had patently failed, and not solely by inadequate provision. For example, he took exception, as a stiff High Churchman, to the way the National Society had quietly relaxed its rules by permitting the children of Dissenters, Jews, and Roman Catholics to attend its schools, and to excuse them from church attendance and catechism. As a working clergyman, Hook queried the need for local clergy and congregations to be 'beggars for a Society which has neither theory, nor principle, nor anything else to kindle zeal'. The demands of time, therefore, required that the State should recognise the solemn importance of doctrinal religion, to be imparted separately by the clergy or ministers, parentally approved. For all other aspects of education – literacy, scientific and secular – the State should assume responsibility. In this way religious objections to State provision would be nullified. Hook also offered a detailed scheme to keep education out of local party politics, by funding it through a rate fixed by the county magistrates, with boards of management for school districts, without any religious disqualifications for membership.223

The abandonment of clerical control was remarkable, especially as in 1839 Hook had talked quite the other way at the National Society's annual meeting about the government's proposals at the time to couple increased aid with more State control.²²⁴ Hook's scheme was published in July 1846. The *Intelligencer* supported it, with certain reservations, whilst the *Mercury* took the opposite line, though admitting the plan was just and liberal to Dissenters. The press teemed with publications elicited by Hook's pamphlet, both newspapers giving the topic considerable coverage from July to December, citing opinions of all kinds from newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. Hook's name became so nationally known that the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, described him as an education

²²² W. F. Hook, On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People: a Letter to the Lord Bishop of St David's (1846), pp.7, 10, 15–16.

^{223.} W. F. Hook, Letter to the Bishop of St David's, pp. 32–33, 36, 40, 54, 56–57, 59–60. ^{224.} LM, I June 1839.

expert during the education debates in 1847. ²²⁵ Implementation of Hook's scheme depended on legislation, and nothing directly resulted. Nevertheless, its own distinctive contribution to educational thinking in the latter half of 1846 must have been the creation of a climate of opinion, whether favourable or otherwise, for the government's own proposals for improvements in national education contained in the Minutes of Council for 1846 and presented by the Marquis of Lansdowne to the Upper House on 5 February 1847. Philosophical about the fate of his own scheme, Hook did not cease on that account to support improvements suggested by others. Indeed, he took a prominent part in local efforts to display public support in 1847 for the government's proposals which he considered to do more to advance the cause of English education than anything achieved by any previous administration. ²²⁶

In addition to such matters of wide application as factory legislation and national education, Hook kept closely in touch with events within his own parish. He was soon regarded as having an unrivalled knowledge of the needs of the working classes and of the necessities of the poor,227 for whose benefit he willingly combined with all classes and every shade of political or religious opinion. Not the least of his services to the people of Leeds was his work for the relief of distress. Several spells of bad trade occurred between 1837 and 1848, when employment opportunities were scanty and unemployment widespread. Distress and hunger walked pitifully through the streets. At such times influential residents in the town would initiate a public subscription, raising funds which were administered by a committee, usually in co-operation with members of the Leeds Church District Visiting Society and the nonconformist Benevolent, or Stranger's Friend Society. On the first such occasion in Hook's incumbency, he occupied the platform at a meeting on 26 December 1839 with the Liberal Borough Member, Edward Baines, senior, the Revd Richard Winter Hamilton (Independent), the Revd John Eustace Giles (Baptist), and an Anglican colleague, the Revd William Sinclair. Hook and Baines initiated a motion to the effect that it was an imperative duty to alleviate the distress prevailing, Hook also expressing a desire to see working-class members on any committee to be formed. Thomas Bottomley, chairman of the Unemployed Operatives Committee, then threw the meeting into turmoil by crying out, 'I do declare before God

²²⁵ LI, 18 July 1846, 25 July 1846, 10 Oct. 1846; LM, 18 July 1846, 24 Apr. 1847.

²²⁶. LI, 13 Feb. 1847, 13 Mar. 1847; LM, 13 Mar. 1847. ²²⁷. LM, 19 Jan. 1839; LI, 13 June 1840, 27 Mar. 1841.

and man, that before I would starve, I would take [food] where I could get it.' Throughout the ensuing uproar Hook showed his command of men, rising amidst loud cheers to observe that there were ten thousand starving poor who needed help, and that as the meeting could not come to an amicable conclusion he would remain afterwards to join with those wishing to relieve the poor. The Mercury gave an admirably full account of Hook's humanity and authority in its report. Within several weeks the Relief Fund had reached £5,250, considerably more than ever realised before. From the Fund's inception until 21 April 1840, over a period of 115 days, the Central Depot dispensed upwards of £4,300 worth of good and nutritious food, totalling 1,100,210 lbs in weight, besides £800 in money. The worst distress by then being over, the Fund was formally wound up at a meeting of the subscribers on 1 June 1840²²⁸. During the raising of a relief fund in 1842, in which Hook again participated, everything passed off smoothly, with Tories, Whigs, Radical Chartists, Churchmen and Dissenters 'all mixed together and pulling harmoniously in the great common cause of Charity'. 229

Through the friendly societies, Hook gained further knowledge of the working classes and influence in the town. In his early days at Leeds he welcomed a grand procession of the Leeds District of the United Ancient Order of Druids at St James's church. An especially close relationship existed between Hook and the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, whose objects were to promote brotherly love and relieve the widows and orphans of members. Hook so much approved of the Manchester Unity's aims and conduct that, after further enquiries, he consented to allow his name to be proposed for membership of the Jolly Sailor Lodge in Leeds. He dined regularly with his Lodge brethren for many years, and his own enjoyment of the proceedings, 'as the only gentleman present', added to their pleasure in his company. Of particular gratification to Hook was the experience of working-class men conducting business affairs with efficiency and propriety, which he regarded as an earnest of their potential for civic and national responsibilities in future years. 230

Conclusion

The present account of Hook's work in Leeds from 1837 to 1848 has shown that, as vicar of Leeds, he was not merely active, but

²²⁸. LI, 28 Dec. 1839; LM, 28 Dec. 1839.

^{229.} LI, 22 Jan. 1842.

^{230.} LM, 29 Sept. 1838; LI, 13 July 1844, 26 Dec. 1846; Stephens, II, 317.

active to some purpose, in many areas of local and national life. His literary output was also considerable – sermons, open letters, disquisitions on controverted points of doctrine. Amongst these works there was even a Church Dictionary, first appearing in parts, and later published as one volume of over 900 pages, in the revised and enlarged fifth edition. Within the parish of Leeds Hook's great achievement was not only to put new heart into the faithful remnant of those who had remained with the Church in the depressing years prior to his arrival, but also to make the Church attractive and relevant within the community as a whole by its efforts to improve the quality of life - spiritual, mental and material - for all inhabitants, especially for those whose lot seemed most in need of improvement. The consequences were quickly apparent. The parish church regularly attracted thousands of worshippers. Throughout the extensive parish, vicar and assistant clergy could soon depend on a large band of willing helpers, rich and poor, and all degrees in between. By 1845 the vicar had acquired the reputation of a great captain in Israel, with Leeds known even in the United States as the model parish of England. In all these labours Hook habitually deflected praise and was generous in awarding it publicly to others. In the background, providing the emotional security and support, was his wife who always found time, in the midst of family duties, to devote herself to public and parochial work. As Hook was to say later, she had ever been to him worth half a dozen curates. By 1848 a warm feeling of appreciation had arisen in the town generally, especially among the working classes, for the efforts of the vicar and clergy for social betterment, the education of children, and a variety of charitable causes, whilst for the Church itself the foundations of a flourishing Anglicanism had been well and truly laid.231 Hook left Leeds for Chichester in 1859, but the eleven years to 1848 exhibited his powers at their height.

²³¹. *LI*, 2 Aug. 1845, 25 Apr. 1846; *LM*, 30 June 1859.

'Shall it be Bradford or Leeds?': the Origins of Professional Football in the West Riding Textile District

by A. J. ARNOLD, MSc, FCA

Ţ

Football developed rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Football Association was formed in 1863, in order to provide an organisational framework for the small number of clubs and to produce a common set of rules. In 1871 a Challenge Cup competition was established, but it was not until 1883 that it was won by a northern side, Blackburn Olympic. This victory marked the end of supremacy for amateur clubs from the south of England.

In Lancashire, players had been paid since about 1877¹ although the rules of the Football Association did not permit this until 1885. The rules were changed when the football authorities realised that professionalism was so well established in the north of England that it could not be suppressed. The senior clubs, with substantial costs to cover, needed regular fixtures against one another in order to maximise their revenues and in 1888 twelve of the strongest clubs in the north and midlands formed the Football League. Professionalism developed more slowly in the south, partly because of opposition from the London FA, but in 1894 the strongest southern sides, many of them professional clubs, formed the Southern League. The Southern League was overtly regional; the Football League had national ambitions but as yet attracted few southern teams, partly because of the higher travelling costs involved.

Public interest continued to grow; in 1900 the FA Cup Final was watched by 69,000 people and the Football League consisted of thirty-six teams organised in two divisions. Southern representation

¹ A. Gibson and W. Pickford, Association Football and the Men Who Made It, 4 vols (1906), I, pp. 59, 76.

was still limited but the Southern League was strong enough to provide an FA Cup finalist in 1900 and in the two following seasons.²

Professional football was, by 1900, firmly established in every major conurbation in England except one, the West Riding textile district, even though it lay between two of the country's earliest football areas, East Lancashire and Sheffield. Although professional football was now played in towns as small as Burton, Lincoln, Glossop and Watford,³ in Leeds and Bradford, two of the country's largest cities, there was little association football played of any standard.

This article examines the reasons for the delayed entry of the West Riding textile towns into this 'new world of entertainment' and identifies the factors that eventually led clubs in the region to adopt professional football.

П

The Ten Hours Bill of 1847, and the Factory Act of 1850, brought release from Saturday afternoon work in the textile areas of England to female and child employees and, in consequence, to men as well, rather earlier than elsewhere in England and Wales.⁴ This helped to establish team sports. In East Lancashire the popular game at first was the Harrow game, a mixture of association and rugby rules.⁵ Lancashire had been 'a hot-bed of rugby, and association clubs were few in number',⁶ until 1878 when, under the leadership of the Darwen club, the Lancashire FA was formed. The FA Cup successes of Darwen and Blackburn Olympic, culminating in the latter's victory over Old Etonians in the Final of 1883, provided a powerful stimulus to clubs in the county.

Adjacent to East Lancashire, in the West Riding, was the country's main woollen textile district, providing about 70 per cent of national

² Southampton who lost in 1900 and 1902, and Tottenham Hotspur who won in 1901.

³ Of the 117 sides to have played in the Football League, eighty-two were founded before 1900.

⁴ W. J. Baker, 'The Making of a Working Class Football Culture in Victorian England', *Journal of Social History*, XIII, 2 (1979), 242, found a half-day Saturday to be fairly general by 1870.

⁵ Old Harrovians were influential in establishing the dribbling code in three of the earliest football clubs, including Sheffield; see T. Pawson, One Hundred Years of the FA Cup: The Official Centenary History (1972), pp. 5, 49.

⁶ A. Gibson and W. Pickford, p.61.

employment in the industry, chiefly in the towns of Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax.⁷

There was a long tradition in Yorkshire of support for 'football', but here the preferred form was rugby. The earliest rugby clubs in the country as a whole were formed by old boys of the public schools, particularly Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster and Winchester, which were most influential in the development of the newer forms of the game. These clubs, even in neighbouring Lancashire, typically restricted

their membership to the upper and middle classes.

In the Yorkshire textile district, firms were generally specialised and small, and their owners remained in close contact with employees. Yorkshire textile businessmen also retained local identifications and were often educated locally, rather than at the more distant leading public schools. In consequence, in Yorkshire 'fewer public schoolboys seem to have taken part with the result that Yorkshire clubs were, from the outset, less socially exclusive than their counterparts in Lancashire and other parts of the country', and therefore more accessible to working-class enthusiasts. Indeed, as early as 1831 one Etonian had viewed the game as 'far from gentlemanly', primarily because it was a game 'the common people of Yorkshire are particularly partial to'.9

These circumstances helped to popularise the game, aided by the activities of the Church. The clergy were active in the latter half of the nineteenth century in forming soccer clubs, ¹⁰ but 'muscular Christianity' was essentially pragmatic in its choice of sport; all were preferable to the temptations associated with drinking and dancing. In Bolton in 1867 one-third of the cricket clubs were connected to a religious body, in the 1880s a quarter of the football clubs in the Birmingham area had similar origins, ¹¹ but in Leeds and its neighbouring towns the popular game was rugby. 'There was very little football of the association code played in the Leeds area during the 1880s and nearly every church ran its own rugby club', ¹² notably

8. E. Dunning and K. Sheard, Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football (1979), p. 135.

9 H. J. C. Blake, Reminiscences of Eton by an Etonian (Chichester, 1831), p.47.

¹¹ P. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England (1978), p.137.

⁷ There were only three other municipal boroughs in the region in 1871 with a population in excess of 20,000; 1881 Census, Summary Table VVI, p.xiii.

¹⁰.R. F. Wheeler, 'Organised Sport and Organised Labour: The Workers' Sports Movement', *Journal of Contemporary History*, XIII (1978), 192.

¹² Headingley Football Club 1878–1978 (Leeds, 1979), p.18. In 1888 there were 1,000 clubs affiliated to the FA.

Leeds St Johns, formed in 1870, who played initially on cinders at the Militia Barracks; Leeds Parish Church who played at Clarence Road and then Crown Point; and Headingley who were twice reformed by church groups, Headingley Hill chapel in 1885 and Headingley Wesleyan church in 1891.

Association football spread to most parts of the country because innovation took place at a crucial time; in West Yorkshire the comparable initiative in 1877 was the inauguration of a rugby challenge cup, which was an immediate success. The excitement and violence of the contests appealed to local community rivalries, although not to the southern rugby establishment. Their experience had shown that 'whatever the class of players' rugby cup-ties provided an 'opening for ill-feeling and the exhibition of unnecessary roughness', ¹³ but the commercial success of the competition ¹⁴ entrenched rugby in the West Riding and discouraged any adoption of the association code.

Although the Football Association had legalised professionalism in 1885, the Rugby Union was determined not to follow suit. At a meeting in September 1893 a Yorkshire proposal to allow compensation for bona fide loss of time, or 'broken-time' payments, was rejected as 'contrary to the true interest and spirit of the game'. 15

During the course of the next two years it became clear that the Rugby Union would not change its position and at a meeting in August 1895 at the George Hotel, Huddersfield, twenty clubs, including ten from the West Riding, agreed to form a Northern Rugby Football Union, and to 'push forward without delay its establishment on the principle of payment for bona fide broken time only'. Six shillings a day was fixed as the maximum payable. Three years later the ban on professionalism was abandoned, although players could only be paid if they had legitimate employment in a full-time job.

There were ten clubs from the woollen textile district in the first season of the Northern Union, 1895–96 – Manningham, Bradford, Leeds, Hunslet, Halifax, Huddersfield, Brighouse Rangers, Liversedge, Batley and Wakefield, followed in 1896 by Leeds Parish Church, Holbeck, Castleford, Bramley and Heckmondwike. Not

¹³ M. Shearman, Athletics and Football (1887), p. 330.

¹⁴ The *Bradford Observer*, 21 March 1892, p.3, spoke of the 'remarkable success of the Yorkshire Challenge Cup' as being 'too hackneyed a subject to dilate upon', and of the public's enthusiasm 'remaining unabated'.

^{15.} W. J. Baker, p.244.

¹⁶. Huddersfield Daily Examiner, 30 Aug. 1895, p. 3.

all these sides were successful but collectively they presented strong competition to any would-be association club.

Ш

Although rugby had been very popular for some time, the points system did not encourage teams to use the full width of the pitch and the governing body was reluctant to reduce the number of players or change the rules, particularly those relating to 'scrums', even though the weaker professional sides were inclined to play negatively. Matches degenerated into static, prolonged mauls and public interest steadily declined.¹⁷

The Northern Union also had attempted to exploit the possibilities of expansion by admitting new teams, even if of unproven standard, while protecting the élite clubs from unremunerative matches against weak opposition. One mechanism used to achieve this was the instigation of a two-division structure in 1902. By this time clubs were experiencing serious financial problems, particularly those in the lower division; the *Yorkshire Post*¹⁸ doubted whether any of the Yorkshire sides in Division Two had made rugby pay that year.

The Football League was, at this time, trying to strengthen its Second Division, which had been set up in 1892 partly to confirm the League's status as the national league, and also to extend the ambit of the retain-and-transfer system. This system bound players to their Football League employers but did not apply to clubs outside the League, and the better supported of these clubs had been able to 'poach' players. Inside the Football League they would pose no such problems.

By 1902 the Second Division still included several comparatively weak sides and was not truly national because of the absence of sides from the West Riding textile district and the thinness of southern representation.

It was possible to compete in the Northern Union far more cheaply than in the Football League; player costs were far lower and could be covered by more modest attendances which in turn did not require the same investment in ground facilities, ¹⁹ but average attendances in the Football League were higher and increasing. ²⁰

^{17.} Bradford Daily Telegraph, 14 Jan. 1903, p.6.

^{18.} Yorkshire Post, 26 May 1903, p. 12.

¹⁹ Brighouse Rangers, founder members of the Northern Union, put their effects up for auction in 1906; their grandstand was sold for ten guineas.

^{20.} Tony Mason, Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915 (Brighton, 1980), p. 140.

Moreover in 1901–02 the Football League implemented a maximum wage system which would help smaller clubs to compete more successfully with larger clubs, and would hold down player costs.

An article in the *Bradford Daily Telegraph* in January 1903, which may well have been sponsored, claimed that nothing would please the football authorities more than to extend their influence to the densely populated West Riding; 'we have authority for saying that the FA will do all in its power to assist the club who will take the first step. Shall it be Bradford or Leeds?'²¹ Two days later the same newspaper noted the 'parlous state' of Northern Union rugby in Leeds and suggested that Headingley might soon switch to soccer.²²

Clearly Leeds and Bradford, two of the country's largest cities, were the Football League's primary targets in West Yorkshire. In 1902-03 Leeds had three sides in the Northern Union. Hunslet Cricket, Football and Athletic Club in the First Division and Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Club and Holbeck Cricket, Football and Athletic Club in the Second, while Bradford had two, Bradford FC in the First and Manningham FC in the Second. At the end of the season Leeds CF & AC from Headingley won promotion. Although they lost £800 (£87 23,000)23 they recovered their loss in one season in the Northern Union First Division, and their membership recovered from 650 to 2,275.24 Manningham finished in mid-table, even though they spent heavily on players' wages. Their gate receipts and members' subscriptions fell again, and barely covered player costs, resulting in an unprecedented loss of £660 (£8719,000). Although an athletics carnival raised enough money to pay off the club's debts, Manningham's committee was receptive to private approaches from a group of Association enthusiasts led by I. T. Whyte, a newspaper sub-editor who had played soccer in Scotland. The initial suggestion was for Manningham to go into partnership with the association promoters, who agreed to provide £2,500 capital (£8,72,000), and to use their ground for soccer and rugby on alternate Saturdays. This was sanctioned by an Extraordinary General Meeting of the life members (only) of Manningham FC on 26 March 1903. The committee felt that rugby was in permanent decline and H. Jowett, the treasurer, felt that 'as businessmen they must look to something better'. On 24 May

²¹ Bradford Daily Telegraph, 14 Jan. 1903.

²². Ibid., 16 Jan. 1903, p.6.

^{23.} In 1987 £s.

²⁴ Companies House No 28301, Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Club Co Ltd, 15th Annual Report, 26 June 1903.

Bradford City, without general membership support, a club with no players, and which had never played a soccer match at any level, was voted into the Football League, receiving more votes from member clubs than even Burnley, founder-members of the League, who were applying for re-election that year.

The committee of the Manningham club responded to the euphoria by announcing its willingness to play both codes *ifnecessary*, but by the Annual General Meeting in May 1903²⁵ it felt it was no longer possible to play both codes, and proposed instead that rugby be abandoned 'for twelve months'. Manningham had started in 1880 as a rugby union club and leased Valley Parade, four acres of steep hillside, from the Midland Railway Company in 1886 when their previous ground was taken over by a board school. Valley Parade was converted into a rugby ground in only three months, and facilities were modest; the main stand was a small one transported from their first ground. The membership were generally working-class²⁶ and the club did not have the means to subsidise unprofitable ventures.²⁷ After a noisy debate the general membership approved the committee's plans, although a counter-proposal that the club stick to rugby was greeted with 'great cheers'.

IV

This still left Leeds, the fifth largest city in England, outside the Football League. Club football had started up in Leeds following an advertisement in the *Leeds Mercury* in 1864. ²⁸ Early games resembled 'pitched battles' with up to 150 players on each side and were the precursor of rugby rather than soccer. Many other clubs were formed in the following twenty years, including Leeds St Johns in 1870 which joined the Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Club in 1889 (itself initiated in 1868 as an athletics club)³⁰ when land was purchased at Headingley from the Cardigan Estates. The rugby section became Leeds RLFC. Hunslet added a rugby section in 1883 to their cricket club, founded in 1856, becoming Hunslet Cricket,

²⁵ P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], Board of Trade, BT 31-3700/23007, Manningham Football Club.

²⁶. Bradford Daily Telegraph, 30 Apr. 1903, p.5.

²⁷ The Manningham Club was a limited company but had no share capital; the liability of members was limited by guarantee. It was five years before full incorporation and the formation of Bradford City Association FC (1908) Ltd.

²⁸. Leeds Mercury, 7 Mar. 1864.

²⁹ E. M. Sigsworth, 'The Rise of Football [in Leeds]', Leeds Journal, May 1957, p. 149.

³⁰. Leeds Reference Library, Leeds Athletic Club Third AGM, 1871.

Football and Athletic Club. In 1903–04 both these sides had successful seasons in the Northern Union First Division, but the city's other senior team, Holbeck Football and Athletic Club, failed to win promotion from the unremunerative Second Division by losing the play-off for second place against St Helens in May 1904.

Holbeck had, in 1780, been separate from Leeds, and was then a 'pleasant village surrounded by hills',³¹ but industrialisation was spreading; John Marshall in 1791 built the largest flax mill in Europe there and ten years later Matthew Murray started up his foundry. It became a district of Leeds, notable for the considerable influx of newcomers³² and for the 'rumbustious' drinking habits of its residents, but in 1873 the early closing of beerhouses brought comparative quiet after 11 pm to streets that had formerly been the scene of brawling 'far into the morning'.³³ Holbeck Moor had long provided a local focus for recreation, including public executions, feasts and fairs, and a recreation ground suitable for team games was built around 1865, immediately adjacent to Holbeck Moor, between Elland Road and Top Moor Side.³⁴

The setting up of the Northern Union in 1895 encouraged a more ambitious approach to rugby in Holbeck. The club left the Yorkshire Union for the Northern Union in 1896 although finishing fifteenth out of sixteen in the Yorkshire Senior Competition. The recreation ground was then built over, by the aptly named Recreation Street and Recreation View, and in April 1897 a limited company was formed³⁵ by Joseph Henry and others to take over the club's affairs and to provide a football and athletics ground further along Elland Road. The site chosen was opposite the Peacock Inn and between plots of land belonging to local sand and fire-clay companies, and less than two miles from the centre of Leeds on a main tram route. The piece of land measured 460 feet by 520, comfortably accommodating a playing area 360 feet by 240. In July 1897 permission was obtained for the erection of a twelve-foot hoarding around the ground, and for the building of committee and dressing

³¹ R. Stott, [Holbeck] West End Stars played to packed Houses: the Gay Days of Holbeck's Theatre [etc.] [Leeds, 1956].

³² In 1851 only 31 per cent of heads of household in Holbeck had been born there: E. A. Elton, 'A Victorian City Mission: the Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in Holbeck and New Wortley, 1844–78', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, LIV (1979), 316–32.

^{33.} Ibid.

³⁴ Leeds Reference Library, [Leeds Corporation] Map showing townships of the City of Leeds (1892).

³⁵ PRO, Board of Trade, BT 31-7363/52183, Holbeck Football and Athletic Club.

rooms. Entry to the ground was through eight pay-boxes on Elland Road.³⁶

Six months later two stands, both fourteen feet deep, were built; the one on the Elland Road side was 230 feet long, and included a press box with a covered roof, and the other, opposite, was only 70 feet long.³⁷ Holbeck's results were only moderate, however, and the receipts did not really justify the stadium investments.

By now the association code was established in the area, although not very strongly. In January 1895 there was a meeting of the West Yorkshire League with eight clubs involved, including Hunslet AFC.³⁸ The League did expand, and one of the new sides was the Leeds Association Club, which was soon taken over by Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Club of Headingley. The association section lost between £500 and £600 in three years, however, and was abandoned by the directors in 1898.

The strongest association club in the city was Hunslet AFC, who played for some time at Low Road. In 1904 they changed their name to Leeds City Association Club, and resolved that they no longer be run as an amateur club, 39 an indication of forthcoming developments. In August the club was known to be in discussion with Holbeck regarding the use of its ground, 40 now well equipped with stands, pay-boxes, offices, seats, railings and terraces, and in September agreement was reached on an annual rental with an option to purchase for a price not exceeding £5,000 (£87150,000). In April 1905 Leeds City was incorporated with fifteen directors including Norris Hepworth, a noted wholesale clothier, and Joseph Henry, a prominent iron founder who had been actively involved with the Holbeck club.

The club was encouraged by regular gates of between 10,000 and 15,000 at Bradford and by the location of its own ground 'in the centre of the working classes' 42 and intended to apply to the English League in May, for the directors had 'every reason to believe the application will be successful'. 43 That summer, following their

³⁶. L[eeds] C[ity] A[rchives], Building Surveyor's Office, Plans (23).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Plans (18).

^{38.} Yorkshire Post, 7 Jan. 1895.

^{39.} Ibid., 18 June 1904.

^{40.} Ibid., 30 Aug. 1904, p. 12.

⁴¹ PRO, Board of Trade, BT 31-17428/84163, Leeds City Association Football Club Company Limited.

⁴² Norris Hepworth, President, 1st AGM.

⁴³ PRO, Board of Trade, BT 31-17428/84163, Leeds City Association Football Club Company Limited, *Prospectus*, 13 Apr. 1905.

election to the Second Division, they built a new stand on the Elland Road side of their ground to replace the former stand; the replacement was the same length, but much deeper, with a 30-foot-high barrel roof of galvanised corrugated iron sheeting that was to do service for some seventy years.⁴⁴

On 2 September 1905, 15,000 people were at Valley Parade for Bradford City's opening match of the season, against Leeds City, the first Football League game between the representatives of the West Riding textile districts' major towns; the new era had begun.

⁴⁴ LCA, Building Surveyor's Office, Plans (45). It was not until 1906 that the pitch was turned through ninety degrees, end-on to Elland Road, and extensive terracing and a main west grandstand constructed; Building Surveyor's Office, Plans (86).

OBITUARIES

GEORGE WILLIAM BLACK, MB, BS, FRCS (1903–1987)

President of the Thoresby Society, 1972-1976; Vice-President, 1976-1987

By the death of Mr G. W. Black on 16 September 1987 the Thoresby Society lost one of the most notable members in its history. Mr Black, formerly Consultant Ophthalmic Surgeon at Leeds General Infirmary, had an international reputation for the pioneering of cornea grafting and, later, for retinal detachment surgery. In honouring him with the Presidency, the Thoresby Society thus undoubtedly honoured itself as well.

George William Black was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, on 21 January 1903. He was educated at Boston Grammar School and Middlesex Hospital Medical School, where he first became interested in ophthalmology. After qualifying he held hospital posts in Lincoln and London, developing his central medical interest after taking an appointment at Moorfields Eye Hospital in 1931. Two years later he came to the LGI, where he helped to build a major department and made significant contributions to the advancement of his subject. He was very active in numerous professional and public bodies, never retired and continued to treat patients and to work for the blind until shortly before his death.

During his years in London George Black developed a strong interest in the arts, a pursuit which led to his long service to Leeds Art Collections Fund, of which he eventually became chairman and a trustee. His knowledge of the visual and decorative arts, and his acute powers of observation, were no more appropriately displayed than on Thoresby Society excursions to country houses, where he was quickly able to spot the plums of a collection and to gain a general impression of its character and the sensibility of its owners. Mr Black was an enthusiastic sightseer and a strong supporter of the Society's excursion programme, for which he characteristically proposed and planned a memorable visit to his native town of Boston.

When he accepted the Presidency George Black guided the Society's affairs in a refreshingly original way, a mixture of independence, conviction and whimsicality. In office he was patient, courteous, and kindly, not afraid to suggest radical solutions but adept at achieving consensus and compromise. During discussion he could appear disarmingly detached, but he was always quick to seize, and keen to press, the central points, and his contributions on financial business displayed enterprise and acumen of a high order. Although Mr Black insisted that he was no historian, he had a strong sense of the past (some of which he did not altogether admire), and his presidential lectures – delivered with a humour by turns dry and playful – fittingly reflected his major preoccupations: the history of the Eye Dispensary; Colonel Harding, the benefactor of City Square and its statues; the literary, artistic and professional group who comprised the Leeds Savage Club.¹

In many ways George Black brought an unconventional approach to the activities of the Thoresby Society. In mourning his passing, we express our sympathy to his wife and the family and record the Society's gratitude for the contributions made by our Past President,

a distinguished surgeon, citizen, and patron of the arts.

GORDON C. F. FORSTER President, 1980–85

^{&#}x27;Publications of the Thoresby Society, LIV (1979), 99–105, 106–12, 298–304. His other presidential lecture, on Chapel Allerton, was not published.

GEOFFREY WOLEDGE, BA, ALA (1901–1988)

President of the Thoresby Society, 1976-1980; Vice-President, 1981-88

Geoffrey Woledge was born in London on 13 November 1901. The family came to Leeds when Geoffrey was still a child, and he received his early education at Leeds Modern School.

In 1919 he was appointed as a student assistant (taking his degree part-time) in the university library at Leeds, the first of a series of able young men recruited by Richard Offor, the University Librarian, many of whom went on to become librarians eminent in

their profession.

Geoffrey Woledge graduated in English in 1925. He remained at Leeds as an Assistant Librarian until 1931, when he left to become Librarian of the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, a post which he held until he was appointed Librarian of Queen's University, Belfast in 1938. From 1944 until his retirement in 1966 he was Librarian of the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics, and this was the period which saw his greatest involvement in the field of librarianship in general

and the development of academic libraries in particular.

At LSE Geoffrey Woledge had to contend with cramped conditions, a vast post-war influx of books and pamphlets, and a growing demand from students and researchers. Nevertheless he found time to devote attention to the University and Research Section of the Library Association and to campaign in that association for a more active role for national and academic libraries. He played a prominent part in the setting up of the Standing Conference of National and University Libraries (SCONUL), becoming its first Honorary Secretary and later Chairman (1957–59). That was not all. He was also active in the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux (ASLIB), serving as Honorary Secretary 1949–51 and Chairman 1953, and for some years as a member of the advisory editorial board of the *Journal of Documentation*.

Geoffrey's own contribution to the welfare of his chosen profession lay partly in his skill as a negotiator and a peacemaker, but also in the practical guidance which he and B. S. Page provided for a wide audience in their Manual of University and College Library

Practice, published in 1940.

After his retirement in 1966, Geoffrey Woledge and his wife Hilda returned to Yorkshire, settling in Rawdon, a few miles from Leeds. He had for many years been a member of the Thoresby Society,

and even during his busy working life he had found time to make an outstanding contribution to the study of the early history of Leeds. One may hazard a guess that it had been in his mind for many years before it crystallised in the important article on 'The Medieval Borough of Leeds' which appeared in a *Miscellany* volume of the Thoresby Society's *Publications* in 1945.

It was Geoffrey's 'seeing eye' (a gift not bestowed on every historian) which, with his study of Maurice Paynel's charter of 1207 and later evidence, enabled him to identify a few remaining yards running off Briggate as the survivors of the original plots granted by the lord of the manor to 'his burgesses of Leeds'. On the Giles map of 1815 these properties appear as a series of narrow yards on each side of Briggate from Call Lane up to the Headrow. Since 1945 the Thoresby Society has published two volumes of documents relating to the manor and borough of Leeds, but the availability of these documents has not invalidated Geoffrey Woledge's conclusions, and all later writers on the borough have acknowledged indebtedness to him.

Soon after his return to Yorkshire, Geoffrey Woledge was elected a member of the Council of the Thoresby Society. He served as President from 1976 to 1980, and during this period he devoted much thought and quiet work to the running of the Society. Council meetings were pleasing occasions: business was conducted expeditiously, with tact and humour, and without fuss.

For some years he was the Society's representative on the committee set up to assist in the management of Oakwell Hall (known to Brontë lovers as the original of Fieldhead in *Shirley*). Geoffrey Woledge undertook the revision of the *Guide* to the Hall, written in 1946 by a former President of the Thoresby Society, Joseph Sprittles. Much careful and meticulous research went into the preparation of the revised *Guide*, and it was published in 1978 by Kirklees Metropolitan District Council, which holds the Hall in trust. Geoffrey continued to investigate further the history of the building and its owners and occupants, preparing for a further edition of the *Guide*.

The addresses given by the President of the Thoresby Society at annual meetings provided Geoffrey with opportunities to explore byways in the past of Leeds and its neighbourhood. The first address, on Oakwell Hall, was the fruit of his work on the *Guide* to the Hall; in subsequent years he chose as his subjects Yeadon Town Hall (opened in 1880), Leeds wills, and his personal recollections of the Leeds Arts Club.

Even when failing health caused him to remove to Beverley to be near his son, he continued to correspond with members of the Thoresby Society and to take a lively interest in the Society's affairs.

Towards the end of his life, Geoffrey Woledge wrote that he looked on himself as a fortunate man. Those who knew him in the many different areas of his career were fortunate too, in their stimulating contact with a man endowed with a well-stocked mind and wide-ranging interests – from library practice to the Odes of Horace.

The Thoresby Society is the poorer for his death.

JEAN E. MORTIMER President, 1985–88







